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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

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VOLUME IV.

NOVEMBER, 1896, TO JUNE, 1898.

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THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.

JOURNAL OF THE FIFTH SESSION.

November, 1896, to June, 1897.

NOVEMBER MEETING.

On Monday, November 16th, the President, Dr. Garnett in the Chair, Mr. John MacFarlane read a paper on *Antoine Vérard.* It is hoped that this paper may eventually form the subject of an illustrated monograph. Meanwhile, it is printed in this volume, together with a hand-list of Vérard's publications, in the hope of eliciting further information.

ANNUAL REPORT.

Previous to the December Meeting, the following Report and Balance Sheet were circulated among Members by means of the *News-Sheet.*

"The fourth year of the Bibliographical Society's existence has not been marked by any striking incidents, but the roll of Members has always been full, and the financial position of the Society is highly satisfactory.

"A full record of the year's work is given in the new part of *Transactions*, now in the hands of Members. The illustrated monograph of the year—Dr. Haebler's treatise on *The Early Printers of Spain and Portugal*, and the new part of the *Hand-lists of English Printers*, which is enriched by an important list of Pynson's books, kindly communicated by Mr. Gordon Duff, are both nearly ready. Mr. Plomer's paper on Robert Wyer,

with a full bibliography, is in type and only awaits the completion of the illustrations; Mr. Proctor's index to the *Serapeum* is quite, and Monsieur Claudin's monograph on the *Press at the Sorbonne* very nearly, ready for printing; and Dr. Lippmann has superintended at Berlin the preparation of the blocks for an illustrated monograph on the edition of the *Chevalier Délibéré* of Olivier de La Marche, printed at Schiedam, the most noteworthy Dutch illustrated book of the fifteenth century.

"It will thus be seen that the arrangements for the chief books of 1897 as well as for those of 1896, have had to be made during the same Session, and Members are asked to accept this as an explanation of the delay in sending out Dr. Haebler's monograph and the new part of the *Hand-list*, though it is hoped that both these books may still appear before December 31.

"A beginning has been made this year to further one of the stated objects of the Society—the formation of a bibliographical library, by supplementing the donations of Members, on which we had hitherto depended, by an expenditure of £10 from the Society's funds. The Hon. Secretary was instructed to purchase bibliographical books up to this amount as they came to hand, and with a portion of this sum the following works among others have been purchased:—Dickson and Edmond's *Annals of Scottish Printing*, Dickinson's *English Service books*, Bernard's *Origines de l'imprimerie*, Duff's *Early English Printing*, Bierstadt's *The Library of Robert Hoe*, James's *Catalogue of Illuminated MSS. at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge*, etc.

"A Hand-list of the books in the Library, and Rules under which they may be taken out by Members, will shortly be circulated.

"The meagre attendance at some of the meetings of last Session is to be regretted. Although some saving of expense might be effected if the Society held fewer meetings and became more exclusively a Printing Society, the change is not one which the Council are at all anxious to propose, and for the present Session meetings will be held as usual. Papers will be read

by Mr. Redgrave, Mr. Barwick, Mr. Wheatley, Mr. Steele, and Dr. G. C. Williamson, and help from other Members of the Society will be cordially welcomed. But one of the main objects of the Society has always been held to be that it should be the means of bringing its Members together for the purpose of comparison of notes, for information as to the work which is being done, and for the exhibition of books. The papers announced to be read are thus not the only business of the monthly meetings, and it is hoped that during the present Session Members will take advantage of them to further each other's work more freely than heretofore."

BALANCE SHEET—DECEMBER 6th, 1895, TO NOVEMBER 30th, 1896, INCLUSIVE.

Dr.	£	s.	d.	Cr.	£	s.	d.
By Balance, 1895	66	9	4	Printing, 1895–96	41	1	5
3 Life Subscriptions ...	37	16	0	Illustrations	33	13	1
5 Subscriptions for 1895 ...	5	5	0	Copying and Researches ...	20	8	0
British Subscriptions, 1896...	205	16	0	Library Purchases	8	16	10
2 Subscriptions for 1897 ...	2	2	0	Re-purchase of Society's Publications	2	18	0
United States Subscriptions, &c.	104	9	9	Rent	20	0	0
Foreign Subscriptions, 1896	16	16	0	Assistant Secretary	20	0	0
Entrance Fees, British and Foreign	13	13	0	Hon. Secretary's Expenses ...	3	17	6
Sale of Publications to Members	14	19	6	Hon. Treasurer's Expenses...	2	4	1
Subscriptions paid in error ...	3	3	0	L. & W. Bank Charges ...	0	2	9
Interest on Investments ...	6	10	6	Subscriptions returned as per contra	3	3	0
				£100 New South Wales 4% Stock and Costs ...	107	13	6
				Balance	213	1	11
	£477	0	1		£477	0	1

ALFRED H. HUTH, *Hon. Treas.*

We have compared the above with the Pass-Book and Vouchers and find it correct.

EDWARD ALMACK, ARNOLD GREEN, *Auditors.*

30th November, 1896.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
ASSETS :—				LIABILITIES :—			
£100 2¾% Consols ...	111	0	0	Accounts not delivered, say	200	0	0
£200 4% N. S. Wales Stock	212	0	0				
Stock of Printed Matter, say	100	0	0				
Balance of 1896 Account	213	1	0				

DECEMBER MEETING.

The Fourth Annual Meeting of the Society was held on Monday, 21st December, 1896, Dr. Garnett in the Chair.

The Annual Report having been read by the Assistant Secretary, its adoption, together with that of the Balance Sheet, was moved by Mr. H. B. Wheatley, who briefly alluded to the work the Society was doing and to the highly satisfactory condition of its finances. The motion was seconded by Mr. Naake and carried unanimously.

Mr. H. R. Tedder then brought forward a Resolution of which he had given notice, '*that it is desirable that the Meetings of the Society should be held at 5 o'clock in the afternoon instead of in the evening*,' and supported it in a speech in which he mentioned that it was the desire of the Council that the question should be settled by the Members in the habit of attending Meetings, that to himself and to several Members whom he had consulted evening meetings were burdensome and inconvenient, that other Societies now met at the time proposed, and that as eight o'clock had not been found an attractive hour it was advisable to try the effect of a change.

Mr. Tedder's motion was supported by Mr. Cecil Davis and Mr. Ernest Clarke, but was opposed by Mr. MacAlister, Mr. Letts, and Major Baldock, all of whom urged that, to Members engaged in business, five o'clock was an inconvenient hour. An amendment moved by Mr. MacAlister 'that a reply post-card be sent to Members living in London or the neighbourhood, asking them to state whether five o'clock or eight would be the most convenient hour for the Meetings of the Society,' was lost by a large majority; an amendment moved by Mr. Clarke in favour of 5.30 was lost by thirteen to ten (six Members not voting), and a further amendment by Mr. MacAlister in favour of six o'clock, finding only seven supporters, Mr. Tedder's motion was put to the meeting and carried by a large majority.

On the motion of Mr. Cecil Davis, seconded by Mr. Redgrave, Dr. Garnett was re-elected to the office of President, by acclamation, the

re-election of the other Officers of the Society and the Council being carried unanimously on the motion of Mr. Neale, seconded by Mr. Housman.

At the close of the Annual Meeting Mr. G. R. Redgrave read a short paper, printed in this volume, on *Inscriptions in Books*, which was rendered doubly interesting by the numerous examples he had kindly brought with him from his own library.

In addition to the books exhibited by Mr. Redgrave, Mr. Rotton had brought with him a Montaigne with notes by Edward Fitzgerald, and Mr. MacAlister some books with notes by Robert Browning and Oliver Wendell Holmes. Both Members gave a brief account of their books, and a hearty vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Redgrave for his paper.

JANUARY MEETING.

On Monday, January 18th, Dr. Garnett, the President, in the Chair, Mr. G. F. Barwick read a paper—printed in this volume—entitled: *Some Notes on the Laws regulating Printing and Publishing in Spain.*

FEBRUARY MEETING.

On Monday, February 15th, Dr. Garnett, the President in the Chair, Mr. Robert Steele read a paper on *Early printed English Books on Arithmetic.*

Mr. Steele's paper was divided into two parts, the first dealing with the bibliography of early printed arithmetic books in England, the second with the methods of arithmetic in use during the medieval and early commercial epochs.

Summary:—"England was somewhat behind such countries as Italy in its needs for any modification of medieval arithmetic, and as a consequence, no English books appear before 1540. The first book on arithmetic printed in England is in Latin—Tunstall's *De arte supputandi*, printed by Richard Pynson in 1522. It is largely modelled on Italian methods, but it does not seem to have had any immediate influence on the develop-

ment of the science in England. In 1536, Richard Benese produced a work on mensuration, printed by Nicolson, which is probably the first work in English on a subject allied to arithmetic. Other editions are—1540 (?), *Robert Wyer* (the border is largely composed of printers' signs combined into a pattern); 1562 (?), *Thomas Colwell*; 1564 (?), *Thomas Colwell*, with three shields at the end, but no printed colophon.

"In 1537, there appeared at St. Albans (*Peacock*), an anonymous tract on Algorism, which was reprinted in 1546 (*Jhon Herford*), 1574 (*Awdeley*), and 1629. It is founded on the medieval early English translation of the Latin tracts on Algorism.

"The first important work, however, dealing with arithmetic in English is Robert Record's *Ground of Artes*, 1540, 1542 (*Peacock*), 1543 (*Reginald Wolfe*, the first edition in the British Museum), 1561 (*R. Wolfe*, edited by John Dee), 1573, 1582, 1607, 1623, 1636, 1646, 1648, 1652, 1654, 1658, 1662, 1668, 1699. Doubtless there are other editions. Record's 'seconde parte of arithmetike,' *The Whetstone of Witte*, was printed by Jhon Kyngston in 1557.

"In 1543 appeared, according to Watt, the first work on book-keeping by double entry. It was probably by Hugh Oldcastle, as we learn from Jhon Mellis in his introduction to the second edition printed by Windet in 1588. There is also some account of a tract by Leslie, printed in 1550, which is found after Seton's *Logic* in the editions of 1572, 1574, 1577, and 1631 (Watt). Another unknown tract is by William Buckley.

"Record's most serious rival was Humphey Baker's *Well springe of sciences*, 1562, 1568 (?), 1574, 1580, 1583, 1584 (?), 1591, 1602, 1631, 1646, 1654, 1655, 1670. During Baker's lifetime, he issued no fewer than five true editions of his work (besides reprints), and Baker and Record seem to have divided the field of popularity. Towards the end of the century, Jhon Blagrave issued three works of a semi-arithmetical character:—*The Mathematical Jewel*, 1585 (*Walter Venge*, sometimes given as 1584, owing to the date on the engraved title); *Baculum familiare*, 1590 (*Jackson*); and the *Astrolabium Uranicum Generale*, 1596 (*Thomas Purfoot*).

"Thomas Masterton is said to have issued an arithmetic in four parts, 1592–5. The *Pathway to Knowledge*, written in Dutch and translated into English by W. P. in 1596, contains the first mention of the rhyme "Thirty days hath September." In 1613 the book was re-written by John Tappe, and a third edition appeared in 1638, edited by P. Ray. In 1600, Thomas Hylles wrote *The Arte of Vulgar Arithmeticke*, with all the rules reduced to verse. It was printed by Simson. The last work mentioned was Jhon Harpur's *Jewell of Arithmetick*, which was an account of the use of a newly-invented counting board. Several other books connected in some degree with arithmetic were not within the scope of the paper and it was thought probable that some of the editions of Record and Baker had been overlooked.

The second part of the paper dealt with ancient methods of arithmetic. The controversy between Chasles and Libri, it was said, seems to have been decided by the fact that Chasles had been be-fooled into buying spurious autograph letters—an argument not of much cogency. An account was given of Chasles' theory as to the introduction of the arithmetic of position. It was shown that twelfth and thirteenth century writers considered the art of the abacus and Algorism as two different things, and that the abacus was often spoken of as "the method of Pythagoras." The Greek and Latin abacus consisted of a long board divided into columns, or a tray of sand divided into columns by partitions. These columns served the purpose of ruled lines on ciphering paper and obviated the necessity for a zero. In the twelfth century the zero was introduced, and the columns became no longer necessary. About the same period the Arabic arithmetic was introduced, and from the thirteenth century "algorism" was the sole term used. The use of the counting-board however persisted, and Jhon Harpur's invention in 1617 was really an old Greek abacus. There were seven rules in medieval arithmetic, addition, subtraction, duplation, dimidiation, multiplication, division, and extraction of square and cube roots. There was an algorism of whole numbers and also of minutes, *i.e.*, sexagesimal fractions. The treatises usually contained a certain number of problems,

as an instance of which was quoted the well-known Saracen and Christian counting-out problem, with its solution in the line

"Populeam virgam matrem regina tenebat."

Another very ancient form of numerical notation, if it can be called so, is the digital notation common in the East from time immemorial. The last form of arithmetical calculations, that by counters, was shown to resemble in principle the methods used in the East at the present day by the Chinese and Japanese in the "Swan-pan." Reference was also made to the counting-board of the Exchequer with its system of units, scores, and hundreds, and to the abacus copied in the Sloane MS. 213. In conclusion, reference was made to the points of interest which early arithmetics present independently of their scientific and bibliographical interest. As examples, were quoted the weights and sizes for rolls of cloth given in Tappe's arithmetic—most probably those authorised in medieval times; and the assize of bread in Robert Record.

The discussion which followed Mr. Steele's paper, was opened by the President, who quoted several interesting examples of the light thrown by arithmetical problems on contemporary manners, and was continued by the Bishop of Portsmouth, Mr. Wheatley, Mr. Cecil Davis, Mr. Welch, Mr. Jenkinson, and other speakers. Mr. Jenkinson in the course of his remarks quoted another memorial line—

"Rex Paphi cum gente bona dat signa serena,"

which could be used to save Christian sailors at the expense of Saracens.

MARCH, MAY AND JUNE MEETINGS.

On Monday, March 15th, the President in the Chair, Mr. G. J. Gray read a paper on *William Pickering*, printed with a bibliography and illustrations in this volume.

The third Monday in April being Easter Monday no Meeting was held that month.

On Monday, May 17th, the President in the Chair, Mr. H. B. Wheatley, on the part of the Council, brought forward the resolution :—

> "That the Bibliographical Society join with the Reception Committee of the Second International Library Conference in giving a Reception on July 12th in honour of the Colonial, American, and Foreign Members of the Conference, and that a grant in aid be voted to the Reception Committee for this purpose : "

and this was carried unanimously.

The Reception, it may be mentioned, was held in the Guildhall, was attended as had been anticipated, by many Members of the Society not able to attend its Ordinary Meetings, and was in every way a great success.

After Mr. Wheatley's motion had been carried, Dr. Silvanus P. Thompson read a paper on *The Printers at the sign of the Brazen Serpent, more especially Peter Short*, printed with illustrations in this volume.

On Monday, June 28th, Mr. Faber in the Chair, Mr. Wheatley read a paper on *Portraits in English Books*, printed in an abridged form in this volume, and Mr. Cyril Davenport contributed some supplementary notes on *Portraits on Bindings*. It is hoped that Mr. Wheatley's paper may ultimately be issued, with additions, as one of the Society's Illustrated Monographs.

ANTOINE VÉRARD.

By JOHN MACFARLANE,

Read November 16th, 1896.

OF the life of Vérard before 1485, when his first dated book appears, absolutely nothing is known. It has been conjectured that he was a Fleming, one spelling of his name, Verad, having a Flemish appearance. His miniatures, for he was a miniaturist as well as publisher, have a strong likeness to Flemish work, though his best productions are far inferior to the specimens of that school executed for Edward IV and other English kings. Or again, if we are to indulge in conjectures, he may have been a native of Tours, for several books printed by him have a relation to that town. However, the colophon of the 1485 *Decameron* gives the first trustworthy statement concerning him. He there appears as "*Antoine Verard libraire demourant a Paris sur le pont Notre Dame, et se tient prez le pillier devant la chapelle ou lon chante la messe de messeigneurs les presidents.*" That is to say, his chief establishment was on the bridge over the Seine by Notre Dame, and he had a stall adjoining the Chapel of the Palais de Justice, known to the modern tourist as the Ste. Chapelle. The site of Vérard's main establishment was changed three times in his career, and as the colophons of his books very frequently contain his address, a rough chronological arrangement may be made by this means alone. Towards the end of 1499 the Pont Notre Dame broke down, and until September, 1500, we find Vérard settled in the *Carrefour Saint Severin.* The next move was to the *Rue Saint Jacques pres petit Pont*, where he remained till September, 1503, when he made his

final change to "*devant la rue Notre Dame*," or "*devant la rue neuve Notre Dame*." The branch establishment in the Palais de Justice is frequently mentioned after each of these addresses, and it is sometimes found mentioned before the Carrefour Saint Severin, where Vérard stayed only a year, as if that address were temporary and unimportant. One book, the *Propriétaire* of Bartholomæus Anglicus, may reasonably be supposed to have been printed at a time when Vérard's plans were uncertain, since in the colophon of the copy at the Bibliothèque Nationale the words *Anthoine verard marchant libraire demourant a Paris* are followed by a blank space extending over $\frac{5}{6}$ of a line, and then the familiar address "*Au palais*," *etc.* Several of the streets and places where Vérard lived survive in modern Paris, *e.g.*, the Rue S. Jacques, the Rue (not Carrefour) S. Severin, the Hôtel Dieu, which sometimes is added in the colophons for the sake of precision, and of course Notre Dame. Close by them is the Rue de la Parcheminerie, where Vérard would have heavy purchases to make.

Arising out of the colophons is the vexed question whether Vérard was or was not a printer. In twenty-two books out of the 180 I have been able to examine, the colophon runs "imprimé *par* Anthoine Verard," and that is all the evidence in favour of his having printed as well as published. These twenty-two books appear at irregular intervals through his career, though chiefly in the early part of it. No distinctive types can be connected with them, and in fact there are cases where books of exactly the same type and get up and issued in the same year, are said to be in some cases printed *for* and in some *by* Vérard. In the face of this we must, I think, reduce (or is it promote?) him to the rank of publisher.

In close connection with the colophon also is the question of Vérard's device. This contains in the upper part two angels, upholding a crown, below this two falcons, supporting a heart with the monogram A V R, and at the foot, some flowers in full bloom. Round the margin is the pious motto, *Pour provocquer ta grant misericorde de tous pecheurs faire grâce et pardon. Anthoine Vérard humblement te recorde, ce qu'il a il tient de toi*

pardon. "Anthoine Vérard humbly acknowledges, what he has he holds of thee by gift, to invoke thy great mercy, to show favour and pardon to all sinners."

So far as I know it has escaped notice that there exists a second form of this device, not distinguishable at a cursory glance from the one already described. It is cut much more coarsely, the angels face one another instead of looking back, the birds are in different attitudes, and the flowers below are in bud, not open.

The mark thus described is contained in the *Vegetius* of 1488 (Brit. Mus. copy), and in two books of which no copy exists in London, the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* of 1486, and the *Sydrach.* Both of the latter were printed in 1486, and both with the types of Pierre Le Caron. That printer seems to have some connection with this modified device, for in the catalogue of Baron James de Rothschild's library is a facsimile of a title-page, of an edition of *Les lunettes des princes* by Meschinot, on which the device appears with a portion of the lower border, where Vérard's name should occur, broken away, and the name of Pierre Le Caron printed in the vacant space. I have also seen a photograph of a title-page preserved at the Public Library at Rouen, where this device occurs similarly maltreated.

Before leaving the question of colophons, I must quote one which is unique, I believe, in Vérard's books, and in any case, extremely quaint. It occurs in the *Martilloge des faulces langues* of about 1495, and purports to be from the author's own mouth:

"I, having seen and considered everything, took diligently ink and paper to draw out the truth of the matter as I had seen and understood it. And when I had written all this I sent it to a good, upright and trustworthy dealer residing in the town of Paris, which dealer, after he had seen and considered the material, and shown it to several noble doctors famed and expert in all science, it being by them sufficiently corrected, the said dealer wished to have it printed, as you see, to preserve it in memory. And the said merchant lives on the bridge Notre Dame at the sign of St. John the Evangelist or at the Palais, &c."

Our next task is to make some estimate of Vérard's activity as publisher. It is stated by Brunet that he issued over two hundred books besides his *Horæ*, of which he records some forty editions. These latter books I shall not venture to touch upon, as they belong to a distinct branch of bibliographical study, which our Hon. Sec. has made peculiarly his own, but the figure forty, he agrees with me, is probably below the mark. In the absence of any index of printers to Brunet, I cannot check his estimate of the other books. I have myself examined one hundred and eighty, and have notes of a few more, and considering that the addition of a leaf with Vérard's mark was often the only token by which a book became associated with his name, perhaps the number two hundred may some day be considerably exceeded. All these books were in the vernacular, with the exception of one, the *Nicolai de Querceto liber auctoritatum* of 1512. All were books of devotion, or light reading. At first sight it might seem that his ponderous histories, such as the *Miroir Historial*, are excluded by this statement, but they are really little better than collections of legends.

One of his books purports to be a translation of Lucan, Suetonius and Sallust, but proves on inspection to be a farrago of extracts from these writers, with the usual legends. The truth is, of course, that the Renaissance did not fully reach France till the reign of Francis I. at the earliest, two or three years after Vérard's death, and the writers of antiquity were not seriously regarded in his time. His books of popular science, too, partake of the same legendary character, as will be evident to anyone who cares to wade through the *Proprietaire en francois*, a translation of *De proprietatibus rerum* of Bartholomæus Anglicus. Perhaps Vérard's books on fowling and the veterinary art are his nearest approach to serious productions. Over them all there hangs the cloud of doubtful commercial morality. Large numbers are mutilated reprints, *e. g.* the *Histoire de Troie le Grant*, the *Tristan*, the *Bible des Poetes*. The illustrations, too, of the scientific books at any rate, are indifferent copies of the Lyons editions.

However this may be, the position that Vérard occupied was one of great distinction, being that of bookseller to the Court of France, and indeed

to several other Courts as well. It is, I suppose, a familiar fact that our Henry VII. had close relations with Vérard, for the British Museum still possesses a large number of Vérard's books printed on vellum, once the property of Henry VII., and many of them dedication copies.

Among Vérard's royal patrons must also be reckoned Charles of Orléans, comte d'Angoulême, the husband of Louise of Savoy, and father of Francis I. of France. His court at Cognac was one of the chief means of spreading through France the influence of the Italian renaissance. There is still extant a bill of Vérard's to the Comte d'Angoulême, for books, illuminations, binding, and visits to Cognac. This latter item seems to point to a close connection of the great publisher with this Court, which is further borne out by the consideration that he published the works of Claude de Seyssel, who was a protégé of Charles III. duc d'Angoulême, and of Octovien de Saint-Gelais, Bishop of Angoulême, and ecclesiastical guardian of Louise of Savoy after her husband's death.

Another personage to whom Vérard dedicated his books was Anne of Brittany, successively wife of Charles VIII. and Louis XII. There are nine books at least printed on vellum, and sumptuously decorated, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, which are either expressly dedicated to this princess by Vérard, or at least have an illumination shewing the publisher on his knees before her and one or other of her husbands, offering a book. The tastes of the queen, who had the reputation of a pious bluestocking, are reflected in the titles of these books: *Les Epitres de S. Pol glosees*, *Le jeu des Echecs moralisé*, *Fables d'Esope*, *Legende Dorée*, *etc.*

As to the books dedicated to the two Kings before mentioned, I will hazard a guess, as my notes on this point are not complete, that at least seventy-five per cent. of Vérard's books, and nearly all the folios, contain a dedication to either Charles VIII. or Louis XII. and a cut representing the publisher presenting his book. The copies specially printed on vellum, and illuminated, are to be seen in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and have probably never been surpassed as sumptuous books. It may be worth while to mention that Charles VIII's copy of the *Chroniques de France*

contains 951 miniatures,—as counted by the reliable Van Praet. In some cases, as in the *Lancelot* of 1494, the dedication was printed on a separate leaf, and inserted, in others the first few leaves of these special copies were reprinted, so as to make room for the miniature representing the dedication. The costliness of this elaborate ornamentation appears from the bill of Vérard's sent to his patron the Comte d'Angoulême, probably dating from 1495, as one book mentioned in it (the *Boethius*), was published in Aug., 1494, and the Count died in 1496. The copies mentioned are in the Bibliothèque Nationale with the other royal books, Francis I. being the son of the Comte d'Angoulême. As a specimen of Vérard's charges we may extract his account for a vellum copy of the first volume of *Tristan* :—

	£	s.	d.
81 leaves of vellum (printing included) at 3*s.* 4*d.* ...	13	10	0
2 large miniatures at 35*s.*	3	10	0
81 small „ „ 5*s.*	20	5	0
1,350 paragraph-marks at 5*s.* a hundred	3	7	6
Binding, tooling, and gilding	3	10	0
	44	2	6
Travelling expenses	20	0	0

The first item contains a curious error, for the first volume of the *Tristan* has 91 leaves, not 81, so Vérard was charging too little. It is impossible, as the editor of this bill* remarks, to turn this account into modern money, but it would not be extravagant to say that the vellum and printing of the *Tristan* would cost now-a-days nearer three or four francs than three or four sous per page.

In this connection I may mention that M. Leopold Delisle, the chief of the Bibliothèque Nationale, has recently discovered some leaves of accounts of a Paris bookseller, whom he suspects to be Vérard, in the binding of a book at Berne.†

* Aug. Bernard. *Bulletin du Bibliophile*, Oct. 1860.

† *Documents parisiens de la bibliothèque de Berne.* Par L. Delisle. *Paris*, 1896.

I have already suggested that Vérard had relations with the town of Tours. In 1505 he printed the *Chateau de Virginite* of Georges de Esclavonie, who as appears from his preface, was a resident at that town. In 1507 he printed a *Coutumier de Touraine*, and according to a document first brought to light by M. Charles Grandmaison in 1893, he bought a house in Tours in 1505, and in 1509 made Jean Sasin agent for the sale of the *Coutumier*. At the same time it should be remembered that Tours was intimately connected with court life since the États Généraux were convened thither, and this by itself will perhaps explain its connection with the fashionable bookseller.

No account of Vérard's career would be complete which did not touch on certain unpleasant charges that are currently brought against him. The chief of these is that he gathered where he had not strawed, and took advantage of other men's work without acknowledgment. There is no denying that very few of his books bear the names of the men who printed them, but that, perhaps, was not in the bond, and he is so far irreproachable. It is, however, disquieting to find numerous books, more especially vellum copies, in which the printer's name has been deliberately scratched out of the colophon, and the Vérard device impressed below, as in the copies at the Bibliothèque Nationale of the *Faiz Alain Chartier* and the *Nef des Fols du Monde*. Erasure of the date is quite commonly found, *e.g.*, in the British Museum copy of the *Histoire de la destruction de Troye*, and this can only have been done to delude the unwary purchaser. The patient necessary translator too was often most shabbily treated, for when Vérard, as often happened, republished a translation done for someone else, his way was to suppress the translator's preface, and to put in its place a dedicatory preface of his own, written in very dull verse. The *Bible des Poetes* is a case in point. One of the shabbiest things that Vérard ever did was to publish a book by one Jean Bouchet, an allegorical work called *Les Regnards traversants*, and ascribe it on the title-page to Sebastian Brandt, whose *Ship of Fools* made his name very popular at the time. Bouchet's name could

only be got at painfully from an acrostic at the end of the book. Moreover, Vérard seems to have made large excisions in the MS. before printing it. The whole affair is described by Bouchet in one of his *Epitres morales & familières* in verse, addressed to the printers and publishers of his books. "My first book," he says, "was the *Regnars traversans*, published in the year 1500, when I was twenty-five. In this the late Vérard, taking advantage of my guileless youth, changed the name, cunning fellow that he was, calling it by the name of Monsieur Brandt, a German, very great in all learning, but who never knew how to speak French. I held my peace at this, not being much hurt, though annoyed, but Vérard committed another offence in leaving out a great part of my prose. This was an insult, I would not put up with it, and brought him before the Courts at the Châtelet, where he had to appease me by paying damages." This is the only recorded instance of anyone getting the better of this eminent publisher.

The date of Vérard's death is uncertain, but it cannot have occurred later than 1514, since in the privilege of an edition of the *Chroniques de Saint Denis*, printed by Guillaume Eustace in that year, the epithet *feu* is applied to him. His last dated book is vol. 5 of his edition of *Les Grandes Postilles sur les épitres et évangiles*, which was finished on Aug. 12, 1512. This date which appears hitherto to have been passed over, quite disposes of the theory that his death occurred early in 1512, which is founded on a MS. note in a book in the possession of the late Baron Jerome Pichon. "*Antoine Vérard libraire de Paris, a donné ce présent livre au monastère de Clervaulx le XXe jour de mars mil cinq cens onze* (1512 new style). *Priez Dieu pour lui.*" A similar note, with the same date, is to be found in the Bibliothèque Nationale copy of Vérard's 1488 edition of Aristotle's Ethics. The books bearing notes like this, and there are several others known, were given by Vérard to the monastery out of regard for one Claude Vérard, a relation of his, presumably, who is mentioned by Lacroix du Maine as being a monk at Clairvaulx. A nearer

indication of the date of Antoine Vérard's death might be found in a *Horæ*, said to have been published by him, the almanack of which is calculated for the year 1513. Unfortunately no copy of this book, once to be found in the Harley Library and the Library of Oratorians at Paris, is now accessible. He was succeeded in his two establishments by Barthélemy Vérard, his grandson, as appears from documents cited by Baron Jérôme Pichon. Barthélemy used a device somewhat resembling the usual device of his grandfather, but bearing, instead of birds, the salamander, the badge of Francis I. He published, in 1514, a translation of the *Trionfi* of Petrarch, and at dates unknown, an edition of the *Vita Christi* of Ludolphus de Saxonia, and a *Bible en Francois*, both closely resembling those produced by his grandfather.

To Barthélemy succeeds Antoine Vérard II. his father, and son of Antoine I. This strange succession is conclusively shown by the description of Barthélemy in original documents quoted by the late Baron Pichon.* This Antoine II. published, so far as I can ascertain, only three books, a *Froissart* of 1518, an edition of the *Sejour d'honneur* of Octovien de Saint Gelais in 1519, and an undated Psalter. He used in the two first of these books his father's device unaltered, and the type of the *Séjour d'honneur* is the same as that of the *Louenges de Louis XII.* published by his father in 1508. The Psalter bears on the verso of its title-page the device with the salamander used by Barthélemy Verard, here printed in red. Antoine II. was dead in April 1528 (N.S.), for a book with that date was printed for his widow. The shop in the Palais remained in the possession of the Vérard family till 1560, and documents relating to it in 1579 have been discovered by Baron Pichon.

In proceeding to discuss the types and illustrations of the Vérard books, it is necessary to take notice of a recent work† by M. Monceaux of Auxerre, who is the self-constituted champion of the Lerouge family against

* Documents pour servir á l'histoire des libraires de Paris. *Paris*, 1895. 8vo.

† Les Le Rouge de Chablis. *Paris*, 1897. 8vo.

the anonymity to which Vérard condemned his printers and draughtsmen. This gentleman is often, it appears to me, blinded by his own enthusiasm, and much too prone to see Lerouge in everything. He has shown, however, that the connection of Pierre and Guillaume Lerouge with Vérard has been hitherto much under-rated. The facts are not difficult to state, but the conclusions to be drawn are not so easy as M. Monceaux would have us believe. Pierre Lerouge avowedly printed for Vérard four books, a *Horæ* of 1489, a *Lucan* of 1490, a *Seneca* of 1491, and an *Art de bien mourir* of 1492. He also printed for Vincent Commin a *Mer des histoires* in 1488. The type used in these books, and also the illustrations, are very characteristic. One cut, representing Charles VIII. receiving a book, is found in the *Commentaires de Jules Cesar* of 1485. Pierre Lerouge died in the course of 1493, there is good reason to believe, for Vérard's *Chroniques de France* of that year is printed up to a certain point in Lerouge's types, but is finished by Jean Maurand, and M. Monceaux is able to show that another member of the family, Guillaume Lerouge, came to Paris in 1493, doubtless to take up his kinsman's business.

Now the types of Pierre Lerouge are found with his illustrations, and his illustrations with numerous other types, in a very large number of Vérard's books, right up to the end, and in this respect I can speak even more strongly than M. Monceaux, having been able through the great courtesy of the authorities at the Bibliothèque Nationale, to examine a very large number of books, some fifty of which M. Monceaux had not leisure to see. Now this gentleman's theory, in which I doubt not that the results of my wider experience will confirm him, is that Pierre and Guillaume Lerouge were in their turn personally responsible for all these books. As we know very little about Pierre, and nothing about Guillaume, except that their successive residences in Paris covered the dates of Vérard's career, the theory seems to me a little exacting. A full discussion of it, however, must be reserved.

The other printers whose names Vérard allowed to appear on the work they did for him are Pierre Le Caron, Pierre Levet, Driart, Maurand, Cousteau and Menard. The names of Dupré, Bonhomme, and Bourgeois of Rouen appear in some copies of certain books, in cases where Vérard did not buy the whole issue. There are several others whose types can be recognised with certainty in Vérard's books.

As to the illustrations, the most important of them are those that first appear in Pierre Lerouge's books, or are of unmistakeably similar character and probably came from the same workshop. There are a small number of a totally distinct character, chiefly representing tourneys and battles, which first appear in Vérard's earliest books of chivalry, and are used up to his death. Their small number is atoned for by the persistency with which they are utilised. Thus the *Merlin* of 1498 contains three cuts only, but one is repeated twenty times. The illustration of another class, the cuts of the scientific books are mostly imitations from Lyons and other editions. A book called *Les Loups ravissans* (after 1503) by Gobin, deserves particular notice from the artistic point of view. Up to a certain point (*sig.* SS.) it is illustrated with cuts of no particular merit, but there a new artist steps in, whose work is instantly recognised by its vigour, and by a peculiarity of method which produces the effect of a pen and ink drawing. Cuts in this manner are found in several other books about this date. A foreign origin has been assigned to these cuts, with doubtful justice, but I think that several which begin to appear about 1500 may well have been recut from German originals. A discussion of these would however be of little use without reproductions.

Everyone interested in French printing is familiar with the singular development of the letter L on the title-pages of Vérard's books. I am enabled to give as illustrations to this paper, a few of the more remarkable specimens. The interest they present is not merely one of curiosity or artistic value, for I hope to shew that they are of considerable service in dating the books they adorn.

The first, with a dentated pattern in the upright, is found in three early books, dated 1485, 1487, 1488 respectively, and in one undated, but prior to 1499. The latter we shall venture to put not later than 1490.

No. 1.

No. 2.

The next (2) adorned with a single head to the right and four flourishes to the left, is found in a book avowedly printed by Pierre Le

No. 3.

Caron, *Les faiz Alain Chartier*, and is not found in any book bearing evidence of being printed before 1494. During the early part of its extensive career, this letter only occurs on the title-pages of books printed

No. 4.

with Le Caron's types, but afterwards Vérard seems to have acquired it and lent it out to his other printers.

No. 3 is found in two books, the *Tresor de la Cité des Dames* and the *Gouvernement des Princes*, printed in successive months of the year 1497. It may therefore not be unreasonable to ascribe the *Tresor de lame*, which

also bears it, to the same year, more especially as this book contains a set of black initials which first appear in a dated book in 1497.

Next in order comes an L which is of a shape much used at the present day, chiefly in the combination £ *s. d.* It appears in the *Fleur des Batailles* dated 1501, and in the *Epitres d'Ovide* bearing the address Rue S. Jacques and printed therefore between September, 1500, and September, 1503. Its only other appearance is in the *Resolu en Mariage*, dated from "Devant la rue Notre Dame," and printed therefore after September, 1503. This latter book may be dated about 1504.

Another L (No. 4 of those here given) appears in three books dated respectively, 1504, 1505, 1506, and in a fourth undated, but printed, as appears from the address, after 1503. This I shall venture to ascribe to the early years of Vérard's establishment at the address in question.

Another L (No. 5 of the specimens) appears in the *Contemplacions sur la Passion* of Gerson, dated 1507, and in the *Chasse et Depart damours* of Saint Gelais, dated 1509, and in three undated books, the *Orosius*, the *Epitres de S. Pol glosées*, and the *Cœur de Philosophie*, which may reasonably be ascribed to dates not remote from the preceding.

The quaint initial L representing a Stork swallowing a Snake (*No.* 6) appears in four books dated 1508, *L'Homme juste et l'homme mondain*, the *Coutumier de Touraine*, the *Louenges du roy Louis XII*, and the *Nef de Santé*, also in the *Vie Monseigneur Saint Germain*, dated 1509, and in the *Pelerinage de l'homme* of Guillaume de Guileville, dated 1511. In the absence therefore of any evidence to the contrary, we may consider that an edition of the *Bible des Poetes*, printed without date but after 1503, and bearing this L, should be dated between 1508–1511.

Lastly there is the L adorned with intricate calligraphic flourishes (No. 7) which appears in two dated books of December, 1505, three of 1507, and five undated books of precisely similar size, type, and get-up, which I ascribe with some confidence to the approximate date of 1505–1507. The fact that in this set the old types of Pierre Lerouge are re-used, has led Brunet into the error of ascribing one of them, the *Miroir des Pecheurs* to the year 1495, which is at least a decade too early.

No such information is to be gleaned from an examination of the initial letters in the books themselves. Up to 1497 there is as a rule a space left at the beginning of the paragraphs, with a small letter printed in to

No. 5.

No. 6.

guide the rubrisher, but in two books bearing that date, the *Gouvernement des Princes* and the *Tresor de la cité des Dames*, we find a set of small black initials, which appear in a great many of Verard's subsequent books. In the *Jardin de Plaisance* of 1500, which can be thus precisely dated, though the year is not given in the colophon, from its bearing the address of the *Carrefour S. Severin*, we first encounter two other sets of initials. These are both imitated from the ornamental letters of MSS., and are both to be found in the early productions of the Lerouge family at Troyes and Chablis, which is something in favour of the theories of M. Monceaux. In the *Mer des Hystoires* of 1503 [?], there occur a few initials remarkably

elaborated and of unusual size (2 × 3 in.), which always appear associated with the large type used in the books to which P. Lerouge put his name.

No. 7.

TENTATIVE LIST OF BOOKS PUBLISHED BY ANTOINE VÉRARD

(*HORÆ* EXCEPTED).

Of books marked * no copy has been seen by the compiler.

[DATED.]

1485.	Commentaires de iules cesar.
	Decameron.
1486.	Boccace des Cent Nouvelles.
	Livre des prouffits champetres. (P. de Crescentiis.)
	*Les Politicques d'Aristote.
1486. [20 Feb.]	Sydrack philosophe. (*Hain* 15190.)
1488.	Lart de cheualerie selon Vegece.
	*Le Chevalier Delibere. (*Hain* 4952.)
	Les Ethiques en francoys.
	Histoire de la Destruction de Troye.
1489.	Les figures de la Bible.
	Le liure de politiques d'aristote.
	Tristan. *Jehan Le Bourgois : Rouen.*
1490.	[Lucan, Suetonius, & Sallust.]
	Mistere de la passion Iesu crist.
1491. 18 July.	L'Eguillon de crainte divine pour bien mourir. (*Cousteau & Menard pour Vérard.*) (*Hain* 6553.)
	Orose.
	La Vengance nostreseigneur par parsounages.
1492.	Laduenement de Antechrist.
	Josephus de la bataille judaique.
	Lordinaire des crestiens.
	Les paraboles maistre alain.
1492. 18 July & 28 Oct.	Art de bien vivre et de bien mourir. (*Cousteau & Menard.*)

1492. 15 Dec.	Art de bien mourir. *(Cousteau & Menard pour A. Vérard.)*
1492. 5 Jan.	Cest le liure de lart de faulconnerie, *etc.*
1493.	L Arbre des Batailles. (H. Bonnor.)
	Lart et science de rhethorique.
	La Bible des Poetes.
	Boccace.
	Les Chroniques de France.
	Des deux amans (Guiscardus et Sigismunde.)
	Le Jouuencel.
	Legende doree.
	Lorloge de Sapience.
	Pas des armes de Sandricourt.
1494.	Boccace des nobles maleureux.
	Ordinaire des Chrestiens.
1494. Apr.–July	Lancelot du Lac.
1494. 23 July.	Livre damours (intitullé Pāphille).
1494. 19 Aug.	Boece. Consolacion.
1494. 6 March	La Vengance nostreseigneur iesuchrist.
1495.	*Cleriadus et Meliadice.
	Vie des peres.
1495–96.	Vincent Miroir historial. 5 vol.
1496. 22 June.	Art de bien viure et de bien mourir.
1497.	Gouvernement des Princes. Le Tresor de noblesse, *etc.*
	Les propheties de Merlin. [Described by Firmin-Didot.]
	Tresor de la cité des dames selō dame cristine.
1498.	Histoire de la destruction de Troye la grande (par J. Milet.)
	Merlin. 3 vol. (Two editions of this year.)
1498. Feb. 9.	Boccace de la genealogie des dieux.
[1499†]	Fleur des commandemens de Dieu.

(† According to Brunet.)

1499.	Séjour d'honneur. (Saint Gelais.)
1499. 27 April.	Le pelerinaige de lame.
1500.	Galien rethore.
	Lucan, Suetoine et Saluste, *etc.*
1501.	Fleur des batailles d'Oolin de Mayence.
	Homelies de S. Gregoire.
1503.	Racionel des divins offices. (By Durandus Bishop of Mende.)
	Les sept articles de la foy, *etc.* (Jean de Meung.)
[1503.]	Traytte of god lyuyng and good deyng, *etc.*
1504.	Le jeu des eschez moralisé.
1505.	Chateau de Virginite par Georges de Esclavonie.
	Le Journal Spirituel.
	Liure de lamour de dieu et de son prouchain.
	Le Repos de consolacion.
1505. 7 Jan.	Modus et ratio de diuine contemplation.
1506. 2 Jan.	Les reigles de bien viure selon maistre Jehã Jarson.
1506. 17 Jan.	Tardif. Lart de faulconerie, *etc.*
1506. 21 Jan.	La medicine des cheuaulx, *etc.* [By Lozenne.]
1506. 28 Jan.	Le liure de tulles de vieillesse.
1506. 2 March	Le Respit de la mort.
1507.	*St. Bernard. Aiguillon d'amour divine. *(Panzer.)*
1507. 8 Jan.	La Nef de Santé.
1507. 17 Jan.	Epitres de St Paul glosees.
1507. 4 March	Coutumier de Touraine.
1507. 26 March	Les contemplations hystoriez sur la passion ... par maistre Jehan gerson.
1508.	L'Homme juste & l'homme mondain. (Simon Bourgoinc.)
	Les louenges du roy Louys XII, *etc.* (Seyssel.)

1508. 12 Feb. } L'Epinette du jeune Prince, *etc.*

1509. 6 Apr. } Les eneydes de virgille.

1509. 14 Apr. } La Chasse et le depart damours. (O. de Saint Gelais.)

1509. 3 June. } Orosius. Histoires.

1509. 7 Nov. } La vie mons^r^ Sainct germain, *etc.*

1509. 4 Feb. } Ouide du remede damours.

1509. 20 March } *Dialogue mons^r^ Sainct Gregoire.

1510. *Victoire du Roi contre les Venitiens. (Claude Seyssel.)

1511. *La Nef de Santé, *etc.* (N. de La Chesnaye.)

1511. 4 April. } Le pelerinaige de l'homme. (Guillaume de Guileville.)

1511–12. Les grandes Postilles sur les epitres et evangiles, traduits par P. Desrey. 5 vol.

1512. Nicolai de querqueto liber auctoritatū, *etc.*

[UNDATED.]

L'Amoureux transy sans espoir. [1503.]
Beufues danthonnes. [1502?]
Bible des Poetes. [1505?]
Bible hystoriée. (*Hain* 5539.) [1487?]
Bible historiée. (*Hain* 3145.) [1496?]
La Bible en francois hystoriee. [1510?]
Bien advise, mal advise. [1498?]
Bocace des cent nouvelles. [1502?]
Jehan boccace des nobles hommes, *etc.* [1503?]
Cœur de Philosophie. [1504?]
Commentaires de iules cesar. (*Hain* 4224.) [1488?]
Les Contemplations monseigneur sainct augustin. [1503?]
La cronique martiniane, de tous les papes, *etc.* [1503?]

Danse macabre. [1485 ?]
Danse macabre. (*Van Praet.*) [1500 ?]
Enguerrand de Monstrellet. [1500 ?]
Enguerrand de Monstrellet. [1503 ?]
*Enseignemens moraulx. [1490 ?]
Les epistres sainct pol glosees. [1503 ?]
Les fables d'Esope. [1490 ?]
Les fais maistre alain chartier. [1498 ?]
Les fleurs de la somme angelique, *etc.* [1502 ?]
La fleur de predicacion selon sainct Effrem. [1500 ?]
La Fontaine des Amoureux. [*Verard* ?] [1506 ?]
Froissart. 4 vol. [149–.]
Froissart. 4 vols., fol. [Described by Van Praet as differing from an earlier edition in having a woodcut of two heads at the beginning of each volume.] [1497 ?]
Les gestes romaines. [1503 ?]
Le grant vita Xp̄i. (Ludolphus de Saxonia.)
(1) *Pres petit Pont.* [1501 ?]
(2) *rue S. Jacques.* [1502 ?]
Gyron le Courtoys. [1503 ?]
Histoire d'Eurialus et de Lucrece. [1493 ?]
Lomme pecheur par personnages. [1494 ?]
[H]Ortus sanitatis. [1501 ?]
Les Hymnes en francoys. [1498 ?]
L'Instruction . . . de la vie contemplative selon frere Olivier Maillard. [149–?]
Jardin de plaisance Et fleur de Rethorique, *etc.* [1500 ?]
Le Jardin de Plaisance *etc.* [1503 ?]
Jardin de vertueuse consolation. [1506 ?]
Lancelot du Lac. [1504 ?]
Le liure des persecucions des crestiens. (B. Simonetta.) [150–.]
Liure du sainct sacrement de lautel. Cōpose par maistre Raoul de [montfiquet. [1505 ?]
Les Louenges nostre Seigneur. [1500 ?]
Les loups ravissans. (R. Gobin.) [1503 ?]

Martilloge des faulçes langues. [149–?]
La Mer des histoires. [1503?]
Mlles et amys. [1510?]
Miroir de la redemption humaine. [1499?]
Mirouer des pecheurs. [1495?]
Mistere de la Resurrection de nostre seigneur. [1495?]
Ogier le Danois. [1498?]
Orose en françois. [1503?]
Ovid. Les xxi. epistres. [1502?]
Le passe temps de tout hõme et de toute femme. [1505?]
Phebus du deduyt de la chasse, *etc.* [1503?]
Le Propriétaire en francoys. (Bartholomæus Anglicus.) [1500?]
Postilles et expositions des Epitres, *etc.* [1504?]
Le psautier nr̃e dame selon saint ierosme. [1502?]
Le recueil des histoires troiennes. [1498?]
Les regnars trauersant, *etc.* (Jean Bouchet.) [1500?]
[2 editions of about this date.]
Le Renoncement damours. (Blosset.) [1509?]
Le Resolu en Mariage. [By Jean le Febure de Thérouane.] [1503?]
Roman de la Rose. [1496?]
*Roman de la Rose. 43 line edition. [1490?]
Rommant de la rose. [Cest fin du rommant de la rose Ou lart damours est toute enclose.] [1490?]
Roman de la Rose, traduit de rime en prose par Jean Molinet. [1511?]
Le romant de la rose Codicille et testament de maistre Jehã de meun. [1505?]
Sejour d'honneur (Saint Gelais). [1503?]
Senecque. Œuvres. [1500?]
Senecque des motz dorez. [1491.]
Somme des vices et vertus.
Lequel liure a faict imprimer Anthoine Verard, etc. [149–.]
pour anthoine verard, etc. [1502?]
La Somme rural. (Bouthillier.) [1491?]
Sydrach. Fontaine de toutes sciences. [1496?]

Les temptacions de l'ennemy, auec le traicte de contemplation . . . monseigneur sainct Bonauenture. [1503 . . .]

Therence en francois. [1500?]

Tresor de l'ame (par Robert). [1497?]

Tresor de noblesse . . . par Octovien de sainct gelaiz. [1503?]

*Tresor des pauvres. (Villeneuve.) [150 . . .]

Tristan. *Par Antoine Verard: Pont Notre Dame.* [1495?]
Pour Antoine Verard devant la rue Notre Dame. [1503 . . .]

Valere le grant. [1500?]

*Le Verger celeste. [1508?]

*Vergier d'honneur par Saint Gelais et A. de la Vigne. [1500?]
(*Van Praet.*) [*Verard?*]

Vigiles des morts. [1497?]

DATED *HORÆ.*

[The following is a rough list of the *Horæ* with definite dates, ascribed to Vérard by Brunet, or which I have myself seen, with one (No. 3) reported to me by Mdlle. Pellechet. I am sorry that other work has prevented my having a more complete list in readiness as a supplement to Mr. Macfarlane's paper.—A. W. P.]

Date.	Use.	Reference.	
21 Aug., 1486.	(?)	Bib. Nat.	[Not in Brunet.]
7 July, 1487.	(?)	Bib. Nat.	[Brunet 117.]
3 April, 14$\frac{88}{89}$.	Rome.	Toulouse.	[Not in Brunet.]
8 Feb., 14$\frac{89}{90}$.	Paris.	B.M., Bib. Nat.	[Brunet 124.]
10 April, 14$\frac{89}{90}$.	(?)	B.M.	[Not in Brunet.]
20 July, 1490.	(?)	Bib. Nat.	[Not in Brunet.]
20 Aug., 1490.	Paris.		[Brunet 125.]
8 July, 1495.	Paris.		[Brunet 126.]
20 June, 1496.	Besançon.		[Brunet 127.]
10 Aug., 1498.		Bodley.	[Not in Brunet.]
22 Oct., 1498.	Rome.		[Brunet 129.]

2 May,	1500.	Rome.		[Brunet 130.]
14 Aug.,	1500.	Tours.	Bodley.	[Brunet 131; Aug. 8.]
14 Aug.,	1500.	Orleans.	B.M.	[Not in Brunet.]
22 Oct.,	1500.	Paris.	B.M.	[Brunet 132.]
19 June,	1503.	Rome.		[Brunet 135.]
25 Sept.,	1504.	Rome.		[Brunet 137.]
25 Sept.,	1504.	Paris.		[Brunet 138.]
28 Jan.,	1505.	Rome.		[Brunet 139.]
24 April,	1506.	Sarum.	B.M.	[Not in Brunet.]
22 Aug.,	1506.	Paris.	Bib. Nat.	[Brunet 140.]
18 Sept.,	1506.	Rome.	Bib. Nat.	[Brunet 141.]
[?30 Oct.]	1507.	(?)	Bib. Nat.	[Brunet 142.]
[21 July]	1508.	(?)	Bib. Nat.	[Brunet 143.]
8 Oct.,	1508.	Rome.		[Brunet 144.]
10 Nov.,	1508.	Rome.	B.M.	[Brunet 145.]
	1509.		Bodley.	
20 Feb.,	15$\frac{09}{10}$.	Paris.		[Brunet 146.]
21 June,	1510.	Rome.	Bib. Nat.	[Brunet 147.]
26 June,	1510.	Paris.	Bodley.	[Brunet 148.]
21 July,	1510.	Paris.	B.M.	
23 Nov.,	1511.	Paris.	B.M.	[Not in Brunet.]

BARTHÉLEMY VÉRARD.

15.... *Ludolphus ... Le grant vita Xpi.
1514. Triomphes de Petrarque.
1517? Bible en françois.

ANTOINE VÉRARD II.

1518. Froissart.
1519. Séjour d'honneur. (O. de Saint Gelais.)
151.... Psalterium.

INSCRIPTIONS IN BOOKS.

By GILBERT R. REDGRAVE,

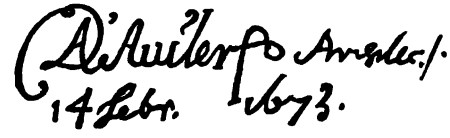
Read December 21st, 1896.

A FEW words are due by way of apology to my brother members for my indiscretion in choosing a subject which is not strictly speaking bibliographical. I am afraid that what I have to offer you this evening is rather antiquarian or even biographical, than pertaining to book-lore in the sense in which we are bound to study these things, and though I hope to be able to show you that I have tried to keep book-matters to the fore, I am aware that I am rendering myself open to reproach in this respect. Moreover, the talk about things written in books must to a large extent be about things written in my own books; you will see I cannot well avoid this.

Our indefatigable Secretary was kind enough to say when I proposed this subject "that it was bound to lead to an interesting discussion, because everyone knows a few good inscriptions," and he was even indulgent enough to suggest that it might "lead to the gathering together of a little anthology of such inscriptions." Now, I am afraid that my paper takes up a much lower ground. I have only collected a few thoughts on some of the names written in my books, a few particulars of the manner in which book collectors have indicated their ownership of books, and I must leave to others the account of the graceful and witty inscriptions contemplated in Mr. Pollard's letter, which would I think be well worth compiling as he suggests. May I add that my own title was "Inscriptions in Books," and that it has been changed inadvertently in the *News-Sheet* to "Notes in Books," which hardly covers the same ground.

Everyone present will most likely have read in the *Autocrat of the Breakfast-table*, that delightful account of the little Elzevir volume of the *Colloquies of Erasmus*, in which a certain Oxford Student, Wm. Cookeson, had written his name in 1725. The finding of this name suggests to Wendell Holmes the following thoughts:—"O William Cookeson of All-Souls College, Oxford,—then writing as I now write,—now in the dust where I shall lie,—is this line all that remains to thee of earthly remembrance? Thy name is at least once more spoken by living men;—is it a pleasure to thee? Thou shalt share with me my little draught of immortality,—its week, its month, its year,—whatever it may be,—and then we will go together into the solemn archives of Oblivion's Uncatalogued Library!" There is so much in all that Wendell Holmes has written which accords at times with ones own feelings, that here we must have the true key to his immense popularity. How often do we stumble across a name in some old book that we yearn to know something more about? How delightful it is to discover that our book was once the property of one whose career, though the memory thereof has perchance faded, may still be revived. Let me illustrate this thought from certain of my old books.

This copy of the beautifully illustrated first edition of Rusconi's Architecture, printed at Venice in 1590 by Giovanni Giolito, contains in the usual place the book-plate of Samuel Rogers, the banker-poet—I shall have something to say about book-plates later—but in a somewhat unusual position, on the back of the cover at the end, it bears the signature of which I have prepared a fac-simile; the date being, as is seen, 1673,



with the word which I take to be Architect. Now I have among my Architectural books one written by a certain D'Aviler, the name I here decipher, and I have sought out the details of the career of the author. Augustin Charles D'Aviler was born in Paris in 1653. He was the son of

a Notary at Nancy, and he started we are told in 1673, mark the date, to study Architecture in Rome. His foreign tour was, however, a more eventful one than that of many a travelling student of the present day, for he was taken captive by Moorish pirates, and he was for 16 months a prisoner at Tunis. He was eventually liberated owing to the exertions of Louis, the Grand Monarch, and in time returned to his native country where he rose to considerable eminence and executed many important works in the South of France. He is well-known as a writer on architecture. D'Aviler died at Montpellier in 1700, at the early age of 47. Walpole, I may remind you, tells us that a copy of Palladio's Architecture was the constant companion of Inigo Jones in his travels through Italy. Am I not justified in thinking that the thin folio I have with me this evening may have shared the captivity of D'Aviler on the Barbary Coast, and have solaced him during his exile?

Here again is a work on Architecture with an English name, written long ago at a foreign city. It is the second Italian edition of Alberti's Architecture, printed at Venice by Francesco Franceschi in 1565. At the foot of the title page is the following inscription:—

Nic: Stone: Florence 1639. Sep:e

Let us ascertain what is known about its writer. Undoubtedly he was the second son of Nicholas Stone; the father being perhaps the foremost architect of his day in England, and not only an architect, but a famous sculptor, for he seems to have executed the monuments of all the most distinguished men of the time. Charles I. made him his "master mason" and architect in 1620, and Walpole devotes many pages to his life and doings. His sons Henry, Nicholas and John, all of them rose to eminence as artists. Nicholas studied in Italy and reached Rome, we are told, in 1638 (please note the date). Here he worked for some years under Bernini, and made many drawings and sketches of Italian buildings. Walpole speaks approvingly of his draughtsmanship. He returned home in 1642, and practised till his death in 1647, as a Sculptor. In a tomb in

the old church of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields was a grave in which were buried the father and his three sons. Henry, who died in 1653, was the last survivor; they were a short-lived race. On a slab over them was placed the following epitaph :—

"Four rare Stones are gone, the father and three sons."

I think, therefore, that, in some former cover, this book was once handled by Nicholas Stone, the younger. I might multiply indefinitely these stories I have woven round former owners' names, perhaps you will smile at my interpretations. In passing I may note that this little volume, a translation, by the great Evelyn, of Frear's Treatise on "Painting," has on the title-page the name of George Virtue, the engraver, to whose literary activity we owe so much and to whom Walpole was so largely indebted for his *Anecdotes of Painting in England.*

But I wish now to speak of another class of inscriptions in books, namely, those in which perhaps an illustrious author has written the name of the recipient. Here I am on still more doubtful ground, but I venture to place before you some of my conjectures. Galileo, as is well known, incurred the terrors of the Inquisition for a work on Astronomy, published in 1632, which took the form of four dialogues between three persons, named respectively, Salviati, Sagredo and Simplicio; the two first mentioned, both philosophers and wits, and the last, erroneously supposed to be Pope Urban VIII, a follower of Ptolemy and Aristotle, who in these dialogues is demolished by the philosophy and wit of his opponents, while the former decree of the Inquisition against Galileo in 1616, is denounced with the severest irony. Pope Urban, though a friend of Galileo, on the issue of this book, at once summoned the astronomer to Rome and after examination on four different days before the Holy Roman Inquisition, Galileo was compelled to abjure his heresies, on which occasion he uttered the famous sentence respecting the earth, "Nevertheless, it moves." The book was most rigidly suppressed and burnt and its sale prohibited. I am the fortunate possessor of this rare work, so rare that it seems to have been very difficult to procure a copy thirty years later when it was reprinted.

My copy bears an Italian inscription "To the illustrious Signor Antonio Maria Fabbrini." This is, I am given to believe, the form in which an author would address one to whom he sent his work, but certainly the name would not be thus written by the owner himself; Fabbrini has placed his monogram A.M.F. beneath the illustrated title-page by Della Bella. I cherish the conviction that we have here the actual handwriting of the distinguished astronomer and if so the book is doubly interesting and valuable.

Here is a much later instance of the presentation of a work by its author, a well-known printer, to his friend a famous publisher. You will see that the author M. Ambroise Firmin Didot has written on a blank page "Souvenirs typographiques et Bibliographiques offerts à Mr. John Murray, par son Confrère Ambroise Firmin Didot." Mr. Murray has himself written on the cover "John Murray, from A. F. Didot," and I may mention as a curious point connected with this book that when it came into my hands the page with the French writing on it was firmly stuck to the paper cover and I am doubtful whether Mr. Murray was aware of this graceful little dedication when he wrote his name on the outside.

There is a very tantalising class of book inscriptions, in which the recipient, without noting his own name, has recorded that the work was given to him by the author or by some illustrious personage. Here is a first edition of one of John Evelyn's books, the *Acetaria*, London, 1699, and a former possessor has written therein:—"Donum Auctoris Eruditissimi." Who was the favoured recipient; he has left no trace of his identity? There are two or three corrections in this book, as in a Latin quotation in the preface, and the word "seede" on p. 48, which are perhaps in Evelyn's handwriting. In the case of another first edition of one of Evelyn's books, but which, strange to say, appeared nearly 150 years later, —*The Life of Mrs. Godolphin* (London, 1847), the recipient, Mr. G. E. H. Vernon, has here written beneath his name "from the Editor," who, by the bye, was the learned Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford.

Here let me speak of another class of inscriptions, common in the last century when piracy had invaded the publishing business, and when authors in self-protection secured themselves and the authentic copies of their works under their "own hand," as they termed it. Edmond Hoyle, who made a great reputation by his *Treatise on Whist* and his works on other games, protected himself against fraudulent counterfeits by placing his own autograph signature at the back of the title. I have here a copy of his book thus signed. Limited editions are sometimes protected in a similar way, at the present time, as for instance, in this excellent fac-simile reprint on antique paper of a rare work by Erasmus (*Silva Carminum*, Gouda, 1513), which is authenticated by the signatures both of the author and the publisher, M. M. Ruelens and Arnold, on the verso of the title-page.

There is still another class of books signed by the author, not necessarily as a guarantee of genuineness, but perhaps partly for vanity and partly to oblige a patron. On the occasion of the first balloon ascent in this country by Vincenzo Lunardi in 1784, the intrepid Neapolitan wrote a book about his adventures in the air, which was entitled *An Account of the first Aërial Voyage in England*, and this work was, it appears, on sale at the Pantheon, where he subsequently exhibited himself and his balloon to the enthusiastic British public. He seems to have signed many copies of his book for his admirers and friends, as I have had three or four through my hands; this account of Lunardi's Scotch experiences is, however, not at all a common book. I am afraid I weary you with this gossip.

Let me pass on to another kind of writing in books, which I am sure is dear to the book-collector. I mean the intelligent notes of the former owner, and allow me to take as an example, the books which formed part of the celebrated library of Michael Wodhull. These must be familiar enough to you all, as his handwriting is so distinctive and characteristic. I fear that Mr. Wodhull's notes are not always satisfactory to the second-hand bookseller, for many of the Thenford library volumes which I have met with since the sale have had the end-paper ruthlessly removed. Mr. Wodhull

was, I am sure, a most methodical man, for he always records the actual prices given at auction for his treasures, and he signs his name under the prices with the date of acquisition. There is very often another date on the other end-paper, which I think either had reference to the time when he read and got together the particulars he is so careful to give about all his books, or may relate to the cataloguing of his library. It is rarely wanting. I have some twenty or more of his books and this second date is to be found in most of them. Mr. Wodhull also gives most useful references to the writings of other learned bibliographers, and he certainly studied the contents of his books. I wish he would, he could have kept his lines of writing straighter. Many of his purchases were great bargains, though he was not afraid to pay high prices when he wanted a rare book. Only think of the *Atalanta Fugiens*, bought with two other books for 6*s*., as the note tells us. He styles this copy "*exempla elegans libri rarissimi*." Here it is, purchased in 1782, and end-dated October 29th, 1808. The first edition of the Poems of Guarinus, Modena 1496, an amazingly popular author at the close of the fifteenth century was also not dear at 4*s*.; this copy Mr. Wodhull bought at the Pinelli sale in 1790, the end-date being a year later.

Here is another work which I bought at Mr. Wodhull's sale in 1880, for less than he gave for it in 1790—a scarce edition of Vitruvius—(Florence 1496). This is one of his rare mistakes, for it is not the "Editio princeps" of Vitruvius as he supposes. I have brought it to-night for comparison with an edition of this Author of a year later, which has a long and remarkable note of a former owner; a note of the kind which I heartily love to come across in a book. This volume, as you will see, belonged to dear old Professor Donaldson, and he gives quite a glowing account of it, founded, I am sorry to say, on a misconception, as will be evident on comparing the Florentine Edition of this author from the Thenford Library with this copy, printed at Venice a year later in 1497.

It was a bad day for collectors, I venture to think, when book-plates came into fashion, about the beginning of last century; for owners no

longer wrote their names in books and much that to me is most delightful and fascinating in the study of old volumes vanished. Of course I am well aware that book-plates were invented hundreds of years before that time, but for a long period they were, thank goodness, very sparingly used. A book-plate is no real mark of ownership, it lends itself freely to all kinds of fraud. It can so easily be soaked off a common worthless volume and transferred to another, likely to be raised in value by its presence, and when, as is often the case at auction sales, hundreds of book-plates of well-known collectors are sold loose to the highest bidder, a book-plate comes to signify nothing at all. I think some of the earlier book-collectors realised this fact. For what other reason have we the mighty achievement of the arms of "Hugo Raitt in Kirnstein" on this Confessional. Here it was clearly intended that the ownership should be a lasting one, and by printing his engraving on a page of the book itself it became impossible for the book-plate to be removed.

Where a book-plate bears a shelf-mark, and the same mark or number appears also on the cover of the work into which it is inserted we have a little more to guide us. This is the case with nearly all the books containing the handsome book-plate of the Duke of Sussex. For instance in this little volume of the minor writings of Alberti, which was once in the Duke's Library, you will see that it bears the shelf-mark written on the book-plate VII A.S. ii, and the same shelf-mark appears also on the cover.

I cannot say that I am at all in favour of library stamps or of marks of any kind inserted into books elsewhere than on the covers or end-papers. In some of the mediæval libraries they were fond of disfiguring books by these impressions, not only on the titles and beneath the colophons, but sometimes in various places in the body of the work itself. I suppose that even in those early days there were book-thieves and this was the only way to put a stop to their depredations.

There is a mode of writing in old books which is frequently very exasperating to the modern collector, and which I must not leave quite unnoticed. This takes the form of marginal notes. It sometimes seems as if certain of the readers of the middle ages regarded it as a solemn duty to themselves and to posterity, to enrich the margins of their books with their views as to the intentions and omissions of the author. When these observations are witty or intelligent, perhaps we ought not to quarrel with them, but when they were first written in works, which were then in all their pristine glory of wide margins, and when such works have subsequently fallen a prey to the binder and have been shaved down to more modest proportions, the advantage and value of these marginal readings, so rudely cut short, is greatly diminished. Even in the most moral and learned of books, moreover, there is frequently to be found the evidence of the dissentient reader; and the presence of all the double entendres and improper stories in the religious works and in the lives of the Saints is sure to be indicated by that ☞ long-fingered hand which we find installed in so many of the margins of our choicest treasures. All writing of this kind appears to me to be an abuse of books, and in spite of so many admirable precedents in the past—that of Savonarola, to wit, who could travel without a valise because his bible and missal were so copiously annotated—I must range myself with those who confine their observations and notes to the blank papers at the beginning and end. As these form no part of the actual book and can at any time be removed by a subsequent owner without injury to the work, such writing can do no harm to it, and here the actual possessor is at liberty to air his views and to set forth his impressions, as he listeth. Nay, more; I hold that it is the bounden duty of the book-owner, if he really loves his book and has made himself acquainted with its past history, to tell his story and to give a reason for the faith that is in him on the blank page, which even the bibliographer passes over in silence, as anterior to folio A 1 of the volume. Let him affix his book-plate to the back of the cover, if there is still room for it there, if not, at the other end of the volume: (not pasted over another,

I pray you)! Let him write his name on the blank page, with the date and the price he paid for the work, if possible, as old Michael Wodhull did so conscientiously, and let him note down any information he can gather about the volume and its past possessors. Perchance, in some after age, when his name and memory have alike perished, his notes may now and again be read with sympathy, with pity, or with indifference, by one who values the book as much as he did himself. It is still worth the doing, even if nothing more can be said of his story than this, that some industrious bookseller of the future may hereafter catalogue it as "containing a long and curious note by a former owner."

THE LAWS REGULATING PRINTING AND PUBLISHING IN SPAIN.

By G. F. BARWICK.

Read January 18th, 1897.

THE object of this paper is to put into a concise form the leading points of that system of fatherly or grandmotherly government which kept Spanish literature and the Spanish book-trade within such narrow limits for upwards of three centuries. It will show also why many subjects are seldom, and some never, represented in the literature of the Peninsula until the present century, why so few books in Spanish were printed in other countries, and, among minor points, why the paper upon which books were printed was so particularly good between 1752 and 1762. While from a glance at the legislation between 1810 and 1867–68 will be seen the rapid steps towards the attainment of that freedom of the press which England has enjoyed without serious let or hindrance for upwards of two centuries. In 1502, when the Moors had been expelled from Spain and the discovery of America had ceased to absorb the entire attention of the Catholic Sovereigns, they found time to promulgate a large number of laws, and among them is the first Spanish law relating to booksellers. It is dated 8th July, 1502, and by it, licensers were appointed for all books in Latin and Spanish, and the printers or sellers of unlicensed books were condemned to lose the books, which were to be burned, and to pay a fine equal in value to the books. This fine was divided into thirds in the usual Spanish fashion, one to the informer, one

to the judge, and one to the royal treasury; so everybody was made happy at the expense of the bookseller, who was furthermore prohibited from continuing the exercise of his trade. The prelates, in whom the licensing power was naturally vested, were charged to cause the books to be carefully examined by some faithful and conscientious scholar, in each subject, before and after printing. He was to be paid a just salary, but it was to be very moderate, so that the booksellers, printers and dealers who were to pay him, might not suffer much loss.

In 1554, it was found that the prelates, who got nothing out of it, had left the scholar to make his own terms with the booksellers, and an order was issued accordingly, vesting the licensing power in the Royal Council alone.

In 1558, Philip II forbad the sale of imported books before they were licensed, under penalty of death and confiscation of property. This law was made retrospective, and those already in stock were to be sent to the council for approval, under penalty of transportation and confiscation; while the penalty for printing, or giving to be printed, any book without license, was increased to death and confiscation. In this law is first introduced the system, that in the copy submitted to the Council, each page should be signed by one of its notaries, and the errata be entered at the end, the type was then corrected, and the printer was bound to return the signed copy with one or two copies of the impression, and it was likewise ordered that the names of the author, printer and place of printing should be placed in the book. The penalty for any contravention was banishment and confiscation. Also, as the very rigour of the laws had induced many persons to have their MSS. copied by hand, clause 5 of this law orders that all such books shall be at once examined by the Council. It also provides that the archbishops. bishops, and higher clergy, in person or by deputy, together with the magistrates, shall visit the shops of publishers and booksellers, and any private libraries, to seize all objectionable books; and special inspection was ordered of the university and monastic libraries.

About ten years later, in 1569, it was found that the exceptions made in favour of missals and service books led to abuses, and so the licensing power for them also was vested in the Council. In 1598, booksellers were forbidden to sell any book until the price had been fixed by the Council.

In 1604, the sellers of childrens' alphabet cards were forbidden to take more than 4 maravedis apiece for them, which was the price fixed by the council. The decree complains that they are being sold at from 12 to 16 maravedis, to the great injury of poor people, whose children break many of them.

In 1610, native authors were forbidden to cause any of their books to be printed out of Spain, and heavy penalties were laid upon them, and also upon anyone who should dare to offer such books for sale in Spain without the royal license. From this time up to 1748, the laws and ordinances mainly renew or extend the foregoing ones, but in that year we find Philip V taking the licensing power for treaties of peace and all works relating to matters of state into his own hands. This was followed in 1749 by a law of Ferdinand VI directed against printing and distributing manifestoes, pleadings and other pamphlets, which were often covert satires. It required that all such papers should be first approved in MS. During this period, frequent decrees were issued ordaining that books should be examined by the faculty concerned, *e.g.*, medical books by doctors, and law books by lawyers, but it was found so difficult to carry them out that they soon fell into desuetude.

In 1752, Ferdinand issued a set of regulations for printers and booksellers which practically amount to a codification of the existing laws, and give such a clear view of the conditions under which books were at that time published in Spain, that the following outline of them may be worthy of attention :—

1. Printers shall not print any book or any memorial or other single paper of any sort or size, even of a few lines, except invitation cards and suchlike, without having a license for it. Penalty, 2,000 ducats and six years banishment.

2. They shall not proceed to print or reprint until they receive back the original, seen and examined by the council, and signed on every page and leaf. After printing off, the original is to be returned to the Council with one or two of the copies. No book is to be reprinted without a fresh license. Penalty on printer or seller, confiscation of goods and perpetual banishment.

3. The edition shall not be divided, sold or delivered by the printer, until priced by the Council and corrected by the Corrector General.

4. At the beginning of each book is to be placed the license, price and privilege (if there be one), the names of author and printer, place of printing and reprinting, with the true date, neither changing nor altering it, nor using supposititious names nor other frauds; under the same penalty. And the publisher, bookseller or binder who shall publish, sell or bind a book or paper printed in any other form than as above shown, shall incur for the first offence 50,000 maravedis and two years banishment, double for the second, and confiscation of all his property and perpetual banishment for the third.

5. If the books or papers printed without the said license refer to Scripture Doctrine or the Catholic Faith, the penalty is death and confiscation, and the books are to be publicly burned. The same penalty is to be paid by all who print, reprint, sell, hold or import any work prohibited by the Inquisition, if they do so with evil intent, but if not, the penalty is reduced to six years imprisonment and a fine of 200 ducats.

No. 6 requires that legal documents, which were previously free, shall be similarly licensed.

7. Printers shall not keep secret presses, nor hinder the free entry of the Corrector, unless they show higher authority to prevent it.

8. The certificates of prices, which are to be placed at the beginning of the books, are to show not only, as hitherto, the price of each sheet, but the total, and the price at which the book is to be sold.

BOSTON MEDICAL LIBRARY

Nos. 9–11 relate to bulls, school books, &c.

12. All impressions of books, gazettes and anything else whatsoever, shall be made on fine paper, like that of the manufactories of Capelladas, and by no means on the ordinary paper, commonly called printing paper. Penalty, loss of the books and 50 ducats; to be increased upon repetition of the offence.

Nos. 13–19 are of less general interest, but it may be added that by No. 17, no bookseller could buy the books of deceased persons until 50 days after their death.

Illustrating these laws, we have ten years later, in 1762, a set of ordinances, drawn up by the Community of Booksellers and Bookbinders of Madrid. These are the more interesting, as King, Council and Fiscal wanted to modify them, and the community only got them passed after a hard struggle.

1. Declares their patron to be Saint Jerome, who by his translations promoted the circulation of the holy scriptures as we, by our most useful trade, circulate the precious treasures of all the sciences and arts.

2–4 relate to members and officers of the community.

5. Anyone who desires to establish a bookshop in Madrid must make proof before the magistrate of his native place, or the Judge of Printing in Madrid, that he is of pure blood on both sides, and that his parents and grandparents are, and have been, christians of old standing, untouched by the Inquisition or other justice, lay or ecclesiastical; that he is a peaceable person, of good life and morals, etc., and the same is to apply to apprentices.

9. No binder is to exercise his craft unless he has been an apprentice for five years.

11. As there are already five foreigners who deal in foreign books and supply more than enough of them, and who understand the laws, no other foreigner shall be admitted until he has passed an examination in the Royal Ordinance and other laws relating to booksellers.

15. That as books have no intrinsic value like gold and silver, and that some are priced according to their material value and others according to their esteem by the learned, or as rarities and old editions, and seeing that each person prices them according to his own fancy, and the prices do not agree, we order that the six Pricers shall assemble monthly and confer about the prices of the books from beyond the kingdom, and inform one another of the books which are reprinted, so that prices may be uniform, and the public uninjured.

21. No binder shall have more than one apprentice, nor take another until his actual one is within six months of completing his apprenticeship; for by excess therein many have had to become bricklayers or beggars.

No. 28 is an ordinance which, if adopted in England, would make our Zaehnsdorfs "sit up." It runs: "Binders shall not charge higher prices to private individuals than to publishers, and the prices for all the usual bindings shall be drawn up by the Deputy and Council."

No. 29 provides for the inspection of booksellers and bookbinders' establishments, and for reporting to the Judge of Printed Matters all contraventions of the law of 1752, even down to the use of inferior paper or the omission of the date of publication.

Curiously enough in this same year (1762) we have the first step towards freedom, and it is, as might be expected, an abolition of the pricing of books, and a permission to sell them at such prices as the authors and publishers might put upon them. But educational books are excepted lest the booksellers should take advantage of the demand and raise the prices accordingly.

Another step followed in the next year, namely, the abolition of the office of Corrector-General; and at the same time the educational books to be priced by the Council were named and reduced to a small number, and the censors of books were to have no salary but to be content with the honour and glory and a copy of the book.

From this time to the end of the century, although the decrees are of minor importance and mostly modifications of existing laws, their general tendency is towards greater freedom. But the Council and censors, having much to do and little to get, were helping the movement all too rapidly, for in 1805 we find the king substituting a Judge of Printing and Bookselling to do the work they are stated to be neglecting. The regulation, in thirty articles, issued upon this occasion forms a new codification of the existing laws, without alterations of importance, but it may be noted that the king reserved to himself the right to license all new periodicals, and that seven free copies were claimed of every book and engraving. This leads to a slight digression, just to point out the number of free copies claimed at different periods during the last century.

From an Act of the Judge of Printed Matter in 1713, we find that copies of every book had to be given to the Escurial, to the president, and to *each* member of the Council, to the Secretary of Government, to the Secretary of the Chamber, and to the Judge's porter, besides three bound copies for the Presidents and Superintendent of Printing. This would amount to from twelve to fifteen copies in all.

In 1716 Philip VI ordered that a bound copy of every book printed should be sent to the Royal Library; but this was the last straw, and in the following year, upon petition, he reduced the number to three; namely, one apiece for the Royal Library, the Escurial, and the Governor of the Council. In 1786 a copy was ordered for the Library of Royal Studies at Madrid, and in 1795 another for the Library of the Clinical Chair at Madrid. These five were increased to seven in 1805, as we have seen. At present the number is three, being one apiece for the National Library, the Madrid University Library and the Ministerio de Fomento.

At the time of the French invasion and the captivity of Ferdinand VI the Cortes in 1810 decreed the political liberty of the press, but directly the King returned in 1814 he annuled it and restored the old law. Again, in 1820 the Cortes restored the liberty of the press, but only to see it

overthrown in 1823, when the old law was restored for the last time, with additional restrictions on foreign books, and an order calling in all the pamphlets and satires published during the four years of freedom.

In 1834 when the celebrated Real Estatuto was published, a modified liberty was conceded; the only restrictions being such as were calculated to protect the purity of the catholic religion.

From that time up to 1867 there was a considerable amount of minor legislation, referring mainly to periodicals, which were always causing trouble to the government. Some restrictive measures were passed, and a censorship of novels was created, for the government could not entirely shake off the old traditions.

In 1868 the press was declared absolutely free, save in so far as it was subject to the common law, and since that time although various laws relating to periodicals and pamphlets have been passed, mainly with the view of registering the responsible person, the old restrictions have disappeared. Spain can still hold her own as a literary country, and educated by a free press may yet throw off her lethargy, and then we may hope to see prosperity return to her shores and to hear her voice once more in the councils of Europe.

In thanking Mr. Barwick for his paper, Dr. Garnett illustrated the effect of the restrictions to which he had drawn attention by the dates of the different licenses in a book at which he had been looking, the *Primor e honra da vida soldadesca no estado da India*, published by Jorge Rodrigues at Lisbon in 1630, when Portugal was under Spanish rule. The book, which is anonymous, possesses a further interest, it being one of the few works of literary interest which owe their publication, instead of their destruction, to the Inquisition. Its editor, Antonio Freyre, tells us that he came across the manuscript when examining the library of Jorge Furtado de Mendoça for heretical books, and perceiving its merit resolved to have it printed. After what delays we know not, he obtained the first of the necessary licenses on 16th March, 1627, the episcopal approbation followed on

September 6th, and the third licenser affixed his signature on January 13th of the following year. On 14th July, 1628, the manuscript passed the Board of Examiners, and could at last be sent to the printer, at least sixteen months, and probably much more, after the machinery of the censorship had been set in motion by an editor of indisputable orthodoxy. The fact that he was leaving Portugal caused the editor, as he explains, to hurry the printers, thereby causing a few misprints; but notwithstanding this unusual haste, the book was not through the press until 15th March, 1630. With praiseworthy quickness, the certificate of conformity with the manuscript was granted the next day, and thus on 16th March, 1630, exactly three years from the date of its first license, this especially favoured work was ready for publication.

WILLIAM PICKERING,

THE EARLIEST BOOKSELLER ON LONDON BRIDGE,

1556–1571.

By G. J. GRAY.

Read March 15th, 1897.

I.—Life of Pickering.

WILLIAM PICKERING, bookseller, or Citizen and Stationer, as he is called in the entries from 1567 of the Registers of the Stationers' Company, is the earliest person we know of as following the trade either of a printer or publisher of books, living on London Bridge.

I do not know if any relationship existed between him and Elizabeth Pickering, the widow of Robert Redman, who, after her husband's death in 1540, carried on the business for a time, and then married Ralph Cholmonley, Esq.

Pickering was an original member of the Stationers' Company, being one of the 97 persons named in the Charter of Incorporation, 4th May, 1556.[1]

Previous to the Incorporation, in February of that year, he contributed the sum of xij*d.* to the Company's collection "by commandement of the lorde the maiour and the Courte of aldermen for the house of brydwell,"[2] to which all members of the Company had to contribute according to their means. And "probably in April" he gave v*s.* towards "the benevolence given towards the Incorporation of the Company."[3]

(1) Arber's *Transcripts of the Stationers' Registers*, I, xxiii. (2) I, 46.
(3) I, 49.

We find a broadside of the dying speech of Lord Sturton, who was hanged 6th March, 1557, with the imprint "Imprynted by Wyllyam Pickeringe dwellynge uppon London bridge."[1] This is the only work, so far as I am aware, describing him as "dwelling on London Bridge." Other works, from 1558, state "at S. Magnus Corner" and "under S. Magnus Church," which was situated on the City side of the Bridge.

And, although on this broadside, and that by William Birch, *A Songe betwene the Quenes maiestie and Englande*,[2] Pickering is described as having printed them, I cannot but conclude, as all the other works I have seen are printed for him, that he was not a printer, but a bookseller.

The entries of books in the Registers of the Stationers' Company commence with those of 19 July, 1557–9 July, 1558: the *Dying Speech of Lord Sturton* being issued early in 1557, has, therefore, no entry.

On the 1st December, 1557, we find Richard Jones apprenticed to Pickering,[3] but no time for the period of his apprenticeship is given. This is evidently the Richard Jones who became "brother of the house the 6 Daye of Auguste, 1564,"[4] and afterwards printed many works during 1565–1602.[5] Pickering's other apprentices were, Anthonye de lanoye, 8th July, 1560, bound for "xij yeres from the feaste of saynte barthelme nexte commynge [24 August, 1560] after the Date here of."[6] And, the same year "— Woddons . . . for viij yeres from the byrthe of our Lorde God [25 December] a thousande fyve hundreth iij^{xx}."[7] In 1567 he evidently had with him Lanoye and Woddons, and Woddons would be out of his apprenticeship the following year, he therefore anticipates that event by taking another apprentice, "Waller Rede, the sonne of Rycharde Rede of Wallerhampton in the Countye of Stafforde yeoman . . . from the feaste of saynte James the apostle [25 July] anno 1567 nyne yeres."[8] This would give him three apprentices from now until about the end of 1568. In this apprenticeship entry, Pickering is first called "Cetizen and

(1) *See* page 67.
(2) *See* pp. 73, 74.
(3) Arber, I, 42.
(4) Arber, I, 278.
(5) V, xcvi.
(6) Arber, I, 145.
(7) I, 148.
(8) I, 351.

stationer," and he continues to be so called. In 1569, he added to his two apprentices "George Pellam, the sonne of George Pellam of Wye in the Countye of Kynte shomaker . . . from the feaste of penticoste [May 29] anno 1569 xj yeres."[1] The following year he takes another "Edward Brokes, sonne of Rychard brokes of Straton Awdlay in the County of Oxford husbondman . . . from the byrth of our Lord [25 December] 1570. x yeres."[2] We lose all trace of Pickering after 1571. Ames[3] makes a statement "that an apprentice of his was made free by James Roberts, 8th Nov., 1571; Roberts being Pickering's executor." But I find nothing to confirm this. It might probably refer to Lanoye whose time of apprenticeship would have ended in 1572, but the other apprentices—Rede, Pellam, and Brokes, would also have been with Pickering at the same time, and had still some years to serve.

During 19 July, 1557–9 July, 1558 two ballads and one book were licensed to Pickering. The ballads (No. 1 and 2 in my List B) are not found. The book, Fisher's *Dialogues* dated 1558 (List A, 2) has hitherto been incorrectly described in bibliographical works as "Poems by John Fisher, of Magdalen College, Oxford," (*see* Lowndes and Hazlitt) why I cannot say. Nothing is licensed to Pickering during 1558–9, but during that time we find the Company fining him and William Griffith vj*d.* each, "for contensious wordes betwene them had for convaynge awaye of a Copye of *doctor* Owyn's medysine."[4] Earlier this William Griffith was fined xij*d.* "for that he prynted *a medisine made by Doctour Owyn* withoute lycense."[5]

Late in 1559 Pickering contributed xij*d.* to the "Benevolence [towards the Muster of the Company on the 2nd of July in that year.]"[6]

During 30 November, 1560–8 March, 1561 one ballad and one book are entered to him. The ballad of Tottenham Cross (List B, 3) is not found: the book is the *Enterlude of Queen Hester*, dated 1561 (List A, 3).

(1) Arber, I, 377.
(2) I, 434.
(3) Ames, II, 1315.
(4) Arber, I, 100.
(5) Arber, I, 100.
(6) I, 105.

In this Enterlude will be found Pickering's mark, which is used again only on a broadside the *Songe between the Quenes maiestie and Englande*, by Wm. Birche, entered to Pickering 1564 (*See* pp. 74, 75). An examination of these two impressions will show that "W. P." was inserted in type, as the type differs in both impressions.

Nothing was entered to Pickering 22 July, 1562–22 July, 1563, but during that time he was fined "for sellyng of *Nostradamus* iii*s*. iiij*d*."[1] At the same time no fewer than twenty other members were fined for also selling this edition of the works of Nostradamus printed by Powell. Pickering was one of nine who were fined the heaviest amount (iij*s*. iiij*d*.), the printer, Powell, being let off with a fine of ij*s*. vj*d*. only. Immediately following this entry is another "Recevyd of Thomas hackett for his fyne for he mysused hym selfe in un Curtiss langyshe unto william pekerynge. ij*s*. viij*d*."[1] Evidently those who were fined did not take the matter quietly, for the next two entries refer to two of them, T. Cadman and J. Hynde, who were each fined ij*s*. vj*d*. "for gyving unsemely wordes" to each other.[1] Probably these words were caused by Cadman being fined iij*s*. iiij*d*., and Hynde only xij*d*. for selling the Nostradamus. According to another entry later on, William Powell is fined ij*s*. vj*d*. "for that he called Thomas Cadman knave" and Thomas Cadman is fined ij*s*. for that he "ded Dysobey the Wardens commandment."[1]

At this period we find the earliest entry of ballads licensed to a Richard Pickering, who was apprenticed to William Powell, 15 October, 1556.[2] For more information about him see the appendix to this memoir.

Between 22 July and 4 September, 1564, four ballads (List B, 4–7) were licensed to William Pickering, which are not found. On the 4 September he entered twenty-two ballads. Twenty (List B, 8–27) are not found, but one of them[3] is found with the date 1566 *Remember man*, etc.[4] (List A, 12). The two ballads found are (1) *The re-edifying of Salomans Temple and the Laborers thereof.* (2) *A Songe betwene the Quenes*

(1) Arber, I, 217. (2) I, 41. (3) *See* List B, 20. (4) Arber I, 275.

maiestie and Englande, by Wylliam Birche, both without date (List A, 4, 5). It is worth while noting that some of these ballads had been licensed to J. Charlewood and Mistress Toye, 1557–1558; it may be that, Pickering having bought or otherwise acquired them, these entries were necessary to show that the right of printing belonged now to him.

Between August and 15 of October is this entry in the Register of the Stationers' Company "Receved of Owyn Rogers for his fyne for that he prynted William pekerynges copyes [no sum stated]".[1]

During October, 1564–22 July, 1565, Pickering licensed a ballad "An Epitaph of John Philpotte," a "New Year's Gift," by J. Markante, and a ballad which are not found (List B, 28–30). He also licensed Joachim Hubrigh's *Almanack and Prognostication* for five successive years from 1565 to 1569, but only the 1569 issue is found (List A, 6). Ames had a copy of the 1568 issue, printed by Henry Wykes,[2] of which he gave a collation.

Between 22 July, 1565–22 July, 1566, Pickering licensed seven ballads and seven books; six ballads (List B, 32, 33, 35, 38, 40 and 41) and five books (List B, 31, 34, 36, 37 and 39) are not yet found. Those found are (1) *The XV fearfull tokens*, by W. Wodhouse; (2) *Dialogue between Experience and a Courtier*, by Sir David Lyndsey, 1566; (3) *Examination and Confession of certain Wytches at Chensforde*, by John Phillips, 1566 (List A, 7–9); a second part, the "Second Examination," 1566 (List A, 10) was entered later on in 1566.[3] There is also a third part which has no entry in the Stationers' Register: *the end and last confession of mother Waterhouse*, etc., 1566 (List A, 11) hitherto undescribed.

Under the period July, 1566–July, 1567, is this entry "payd for the charges of Wylliam pekerynge when he [ar] Rested Anthonye Kytson withoute the consente of the master and wardens ij*s*. vj*d*."[4] This entry is crossed out and Prof. Arber remarks that "the money was evidently repaid to the Company before the annual account was closed." But it may have some connection with an entry of "Ffynes levyed by the master wardens

(1) Arber, I, 275. (2) Ames, I, 939. (3) Arber, I, 337. (4) I, 346.

[and] assestaunters for bokes taken by Thomas purfoote and hewgh Shyngleton in certain places."[1] Seven persons are fined, amongst them is "Anthonye Kytson for hys fyne iij*li* vj*s*. viij*d*." This work of searching by Purfoot and Singleton cost the company v*li*. Those fined had their revenge upon Purfoot, for immediately following is an entry of his being fined vj*li*. xiij*s*. & iiij*d*. "for selling premers to the haberdasshers."[1] Anthony Kytson lived at the sign of the Sun in St. Paul's Churchyard.

During this period three ballads and three works were entered to Pickering. The ballads and one book (List B, 42–46) are not found. The work found and described is the *Second Examination and Confession of mother Agnes Waterhouse*, 1566, previously mentioned. I have also found a ballad printed by Powell for Pickering, dated 21 August, 1566, *Remember man both nyghte and day*, etc. (List A, 12), which has no entry in the Register. It was, however, licensed 4 September, 1564 to Pickering, so we must consider this issue a reprint.

Between 22 July, 1567–22 July, 1568, is an entry "Recevyd of Wylliam pekerynge for his fyne for yat he printed a *ballett* without lycense. xvj*d*.,"[2] and Thomas East was also fined xij*d*. for printing the same for him.

During July, 1568–July, 1569, five ballads and one book are entered to him, which are not found (List B, 47–52).

Amongst the payments of the Company, 22 July, 1569–22 July, 1570, is "payd to Wylliam pekerynge vj*s*. viij*d*.,"[3] with no explanation. But in the next year (between 22 July–30 November, 1570), is "Recevyd of Thomas hackett for his fyne betweene W. Pekerynge and him the last yere past, vj*s*. viij*d*."[4] During this period, six ballads and two works are entered to him. The ballads (List B, 54–59) are not found. One of the books is *The end and confession of Thomas and Christopher Norton*, by Sampson Davie, 1570, of which an imperfect copy is at Lambeth (List A, 13). The other work is "A dysputation betweene lady Jane and Doctour Fak[en]ham," and I would draw attention to the note attached to the entry of it in List B (No. 53).

(1) Arber, I, 348. (2) I, 367. (3) I, 421. (4) I, 444.

During 22 July, 1570–22 July, 1571, Pickering entered six ballads and one work. The ballads (List B, 60–65) are not found, except probably that "of the begynnynge and endyng of all popery" (List B, 64) may be the entry for "The end and confession of John Felton, 1570" (List A, 14), for which there is no entry. The work found is "A declaration of such tempestious, and outragious Fluddes, . . . 1570," by T. Knel, junior printed 1571 (List A, 15).

This concludes the entries from Registers of the Stationers' Company.

We find, afterwards, one work, "The General Pardon," undated (List A, 16), but probably 1571; then follows a blank.

The Warden's book of the Stationers' Company from 1571 to 1576 is missing, or we might probably have met with some more entries referring to Pickering.

I have found nothing with Pickering's name after 1571.

The next information is an entry in the Registers, "8 August 1586. Thomas Purfoote has *The learnynge of vertue* alowed to him for his copie which was an old copie of Agnes pyckeringe, printed *anno* 1573, vj*d*.,"[1] and, evidently from this one entry (I find no more in the *Transcripts*), Prof. Arber concluded that Agnes was the widow of William Pickering, and that she published from 1573 to 1586.[2] If so, she must have moved to new premises, for in 1579 a Richard Ballard appears at St. Magnus Corner, and Prof. Arber adds a note, "William Pickering's old house."[3] Ballard was there from 1579 to 1585, and Hugh Astley succeeded him, or rather, was there in 1585, and published until 1608. June 16, the following year (1609), Thomas Man entered some copies which were Hugh Astley's Copies, and in that same year we find him in Astley's house. He was succeeded by John Tapp, previously on Tower Hill, who remained there until 1621.

In February, 1633, a fire occurred which destroyed three parts of the houses on the City side of the bridge, and, no doubt, this house was included in the conflagration.

(1) Arber, II, 453. (2) V, Index I, 259, and V, ciii. (3) V, 110.

APPENDIX.

RICHARD PICKERING, I.

Richard Pickering was apprenticed to William Powell, 15 October, 1556,[1] and between 10 July, 1558–10 July, 1559, was presented to the Stationers' Company "to be made fre of this howse."[2]

"22 July, 1564–22 July, 1565. Receved of Rycharde pekerynge for his fyne for that he cam not to the hall when he was Warned accordynge to orders of this howse, vj*d*."[3] Fined again, "22 July, 1570–22 July, 1571, . . . for yat he kept open his shope on saynt androwes daye [30 November, 1570] vj*d*.,"[4] other booksellers were fined at the same time for the same offence.

He had apprentices entered to him: (1) "Jamas [James] Bankes the sonne of Rychard bankes late of London Water bearer deceassed . . . from the feaste of the nativite of saynte John Bapteste [24 June] *anno* 1563. Seaven yeres."[5] (2) "henry chylde the sonne of Thomas Chylde Late of Kyngeston in the County of Surrey yeoman Deceassed . . . from the feaste of saynte mygchell th[e] archangell [29 September] in the yere of our lorde god 1564 tenne yeres."[6] (3) Roger Lock, sonne of John Lock of Stratford upon Aven in the Countie of Warwick glover . . . for Tenne yeres begynnynge at Bartholomewetide last [24 August] 1577."[7] (4) "William Ippenberye son of Ambrose Ippenbery late of Maydston in the countye of Kente pewterer Deceased . . . for Seven yeres from the Day of the Date hereof. [7 November 1586]."[8]

Three ballads were licensed by him: two, 22 July 1562–22 July 1563. (1) *a godly new ballett approvynge by ye scriptures that our salvation cons[te]th only in* Christe, and (2) a ballett intituled *go[o]d morowe to you good syster Jone.*[9] (3) *A ballad* intituled *wherein is shewen the greate abuses of this present age shewinge how godlines modesty and vertuous life is utterlie exiled and put to silence, and all*

(1) Arber, I, 41.
(2) I, 98.
(3) I, 275.
(4) Arber, I, 444.
(5) I, 197.
(6) I, 252.
(7) Arber, II, 80.
(8) II, 144.
(9) II, 209

manner of sinne and evill vices most highelye advanced, &c.,[1] licensed 8 August, 1590. Collier added a note to the first two entries, "The clerk seems to have been in unusual haste when he made this entry: for 'Rycharde' we ought to read *William*."[2] That Collier was wrong is proved by the other entries given above.

From these entries, Prof. Arber[3] concludes that Richard Pickering senr. "published from 1562–1590." But we cannot be perfectly sure of this statement, for another Richard Pickering appears, and the ballad entered 1590, and the apprentices 'Lock' 1586, and Ippenberye might possibly belong to him.

RICHARD PICKERING, II.

Admitted freeman "1583, 15 Aprilis. Richard Pyckeringe. Admytted A freman of this cumpany *per Redemptionem*, iij*s*. iiij*d*. *Tout paye*."[4] Possibly he was a son of the Richard Pickering, the subject of the previous note.

WILLIAM PICKERING.

"William pyckeringe sonne of John Pyckeringe late of Broxbourne in the county of Hertford y[e]oman Deceased hath putt him self Apprentice to William Campe citizen and Stacioner of London for the terme of Seaven yeres from the Daye of the Date hereof [12 April 1591]."[5] He was "sworne and admitted A freeman of the Companye" 22 January, 1601, being presented by "Roger Molyns husband unto mary late wife of William Campe."[6]

He had two apprentices entered to him, (1) "Bartholomew Welles son of John welles Late citizen and girdler of London deceased . . . for the terme of Eight yeres from the feast of th[e] anunciacion of our Lady Last [25 March, 1604]."[7] (2) "Thomas Hyde sonne of George Hyde of Wynchester Cordwayner . . . for Eight yeres from Midsomer laste [24 June] 1605;" but this entry is crossed through and the remark made that "This apprentice is Dismissed from his master by consent and never to be made free."[8]

(1) Arber, II, 557. (2) Transcripts, I, cii. (3) V, p. 61. (4) Arber, II, 688.
(5) Arber, II, 174. (6) II, 727. (7) II, 280. (8) II, 292.

LIST A.

WORKS ISSUED BY PICKERING KNOWN TO EXIST.*

1.—STURTON, CHARLES, LORD. *Copye of the self same wordes that mi Lorde Sturton spake*, etc. 1557.

COLLATION: Broadside.

DESCRIPTION: *See* reduced facsimile, page 67.

COPY: Society of Antiquaries, London; a copy with very little margin, measuring 11⅛ × 7⅞ in.

REMARKS: Described by Lemon (p. 14).

Another edition of this broadside was printed in Black Letter by Thomas Marshe, with the following title: "A prayer sayd by the lorde Sturton ‖ being on his knees before he went up the ladder, and also his ‖ Confession before his death the vi. day of Marche in ‖ the yeare of our lord God. M.D.LVII. ‖

Imprinted at London in Fletestrete nere to Saint Dunstans Churche by Thomas Marshe."

The text is the same as that of the edition by Pickering, except that the "Prayer" is placed first and the "Confession" last. This is also in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries. It is trimmed, but not close, and measures 13⅛ × 8 in. Described by Lemon.

2.—FISHER, JOHN. *Dialogues*, 1558. 4to.

COLLATION: A–F, in fours; G, two leaves; 26 ll. Black Letter, with the Latin quotations in Italic type.

DESCRIPTION: *Title*, not known; fo. 2ᵃ, the first dialogue, headed "Spudeus. ‖ Euer plaiying Gelasmie: ‖;" fo. 6ᵇ (mutilated), "Finis." Then, in the

* I wish to thank the several Librarians for their help enabling me to examine, or have examined, the works described in List A. The following references are used in this paper:—

"Ames."—Ames' *Typographical Antiquities*, ed. Herbert. 3 vols., 1785–86.

"Arber."—Prof. Arber's *Transcripts of the Stationers' Registers*. 5 vols., 1875–94.

"Collier's *Extracts*."—J. P. Collier's *Extracts from the Stationers' Registers*. 2 vols., 1848–49.

"Collier's *Bib. Cat.*"—J. P. Collier's *Bibliographical and Critical account of the rarest books in the English Language*. 2 vols., 1865.

"Duff."—E. Gordon Duff's Contributions to the Society's *Hand-lists of English Printers*. Part I, 1895.

"Hazlitt, H."—W. C. Hazlitt's *Handbook to English Literature*. 1867.

"Hazlitt, C. & N."—W. C. Hazlitt's *Bibliographical Collections and Notes*. 4 vols. and index, 1876–93.

"Lemon."—R. Lemon's *Catalogue of Broadsides* in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries, 1866.

"Lowndes."—Lowndes' *Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature*, ed. Bohn. 4 vols.

THE COPYE OF THE SELF SAME VVORDES; THAT MI LORDE Stourton spake presently at his Death, beyng the. vi. day of March, in the yeare of our Lorde. 1556. amonge the people as he Exhorted, beyeng the people to take Example by him, and to bare no Envy in their hertes for that is the roote of all mysse.

GOOD people, I am come hither to dye, I am come hither to dye, and iustly Condempned for mine offences by the law, what myne offences were I am sure you vnderstand, whiche was for a most cruell and detestable murther by my commaundement don and comitted, wherfore I shal desire you al for goddes sake to let mee be an Ensample to you al, and to al the World and beware that yee lette no malice take roote in your hertes, for that is the bitter dystruyer of al vertue, I shal desire you al, and al the World, to forgiue me, and specially ye those poore Women, Children, and kinsfolke, of them whom I haue caused so cruelly to be murthered, that God may put it into their hertes, for Christes sake, & for Charite to forgiue me. and if there be any here, or els where, whom I haue offended. I shal desire you al for charite sake to forgiue me, & if there be any of you who hath offeded me, I do from the bottome of my hert forgiue them, as freely as I trust God of his mercye hath forgiuen me being moost sory and repentant, & when I shall departe out of thys World. that you wil say al, Lord take his spirit into thy hands, & I shal also desire you for christes sake to say with me on your knees our Lordes Prayer, which is the Pater noster, & so turning him to the East, & sayd the Lordes Prayer, which done, he desired Sir John Sowth to forgiue him. Who answered that he dyd forgiue him frō the bottome of his hert, & then going higher on the Ladder said, good people pray for me, & so wynkyng with his eyes sayd, I charge the O Satan in Goddes name to depart from me, and suffer my soule to rest in the lord. & than sayd. Domine accipe spiritum meum. And so departed this World: on whose soule God haue mercy.

Charles Lord Stourton and his wife cruelly murthered Mr Arundel and his son: here shal them to be stricken Lorens with Clubs then shall thirteen to be cut & after to be burned in his own house as Sir Tho. Pelham dyed for the which he was arraigned & Condemned at the Arrainder of other conspired from the Tower of London through the city & so to Salisbury & were there hanged with 4 of his men servants 6 March 1556 this Anglia

The prayer of the Lord Stourton which he spake kneeling on his knees desiring the people to praye for hym and also say with him.

LORD herken to my Wordes, consider the thought of mine hert, behold howe I crye vnto the, let my iust Prayer enter into thine eares which vnfaynedly commeth from myne hert, here me lord for I am poore and destitute of mans helpe, take care for my soule, sane me thy seruaunt which wholy trust in the, haue mercye vpon me O Lord, for I wil neuer cease cryynge to the for helpe for thou art my lorde, and more merciful than my tonge can expresse, as aduersite assaileth me I wyll cry and cal for helpe vnto the, I wil cal vpon the in the day time, and in the night my cry shal not be hid from the. O thou god of heauens, themaker of the waters and lorde of al creatures, here me a poore synner callyng vpon the, and putting my hole trust in thy mercy, O lord what great pleasures thou haste prepared for me in heauen, that I should delight in no earthly thynge but in the, my most pleasure is to cleue fast vnto the, and in the to set my hope and trust, haue mercy vpon me O Lord, O Lorde, God haue mercy vpon me for thy manifolde mercies sake forgiue me al myne offences: I cōmit my spirit into thy handes, deliuer me frō the power of darknes of this World, thou hast redemed me O Lord God of truth.

In te domine speraui non confundar in eternum, in iustitia tua libera me.

Inclina ad me aurem tuam accelera. et c.

FINIS.

Imprynted by Wyllyam Pickeringe dwellynge vppon London bryge.

A°. 1. 4. 26.

I. List A. 1.

Haue these fyue commonly, without differyng
These are as wyndowes to intelligence
For by them all things enter into vnderstanding
Of the whiche thinges, reason and sapience
Apoynt an ordre after their determining.
We myght minister hereof more mater
Than to the auditors should be profitable
Of many thinges to vtter muche clater
Is losse of tyme, and nothing laudable.

Wyll.

¶ There is not a worde spoken this season
But therof some fruite I haue gathered.
The knowledge I haue not farther to reason
Whiche I trust is right well considered.
To God yf it wyll please you thankes to giue
Whiche wyth hys benefytes doth vs feede
We shall do but our deutye, and I beleue
That in all our actes, the better we shal speede.

Wysdome.

¶ Thankes to the o father our creator
Thankes to the Jesus Christ the way & veritie
Thankes to the o spirite our consolator
Thankes to the one blessed God in Trynitie.
Amen. Finis.

Compiled by Jhan Fysher
student in Oxforde.

lower part of the page: "¶ Here after foloweth || the Dialogue conc . . . || liuyng of Ma . . . || which si*n* [?] . . . || which . . . ||." A dialogue between Eda and Agna. Fo. 19[a], "Finis." Below, on the same page: "Here after foloweth || A Dialogue concernyng wysdom and || Wyll. Who reason togither thus ||." Fo. 25[b], "Finis," etc. (*see* page 68). *Colophon* (fo. 26[a]), as follows:

Imprinted at London in Smithfyeld at the signe of the Mytre, by Jhon Tisdale for William Pickeryng dwellyng at Saynt Magnus corner.

In the yeare of our Lord God M.D.L.VIII.

The .v. daye of Marche.

III. List A. 2.

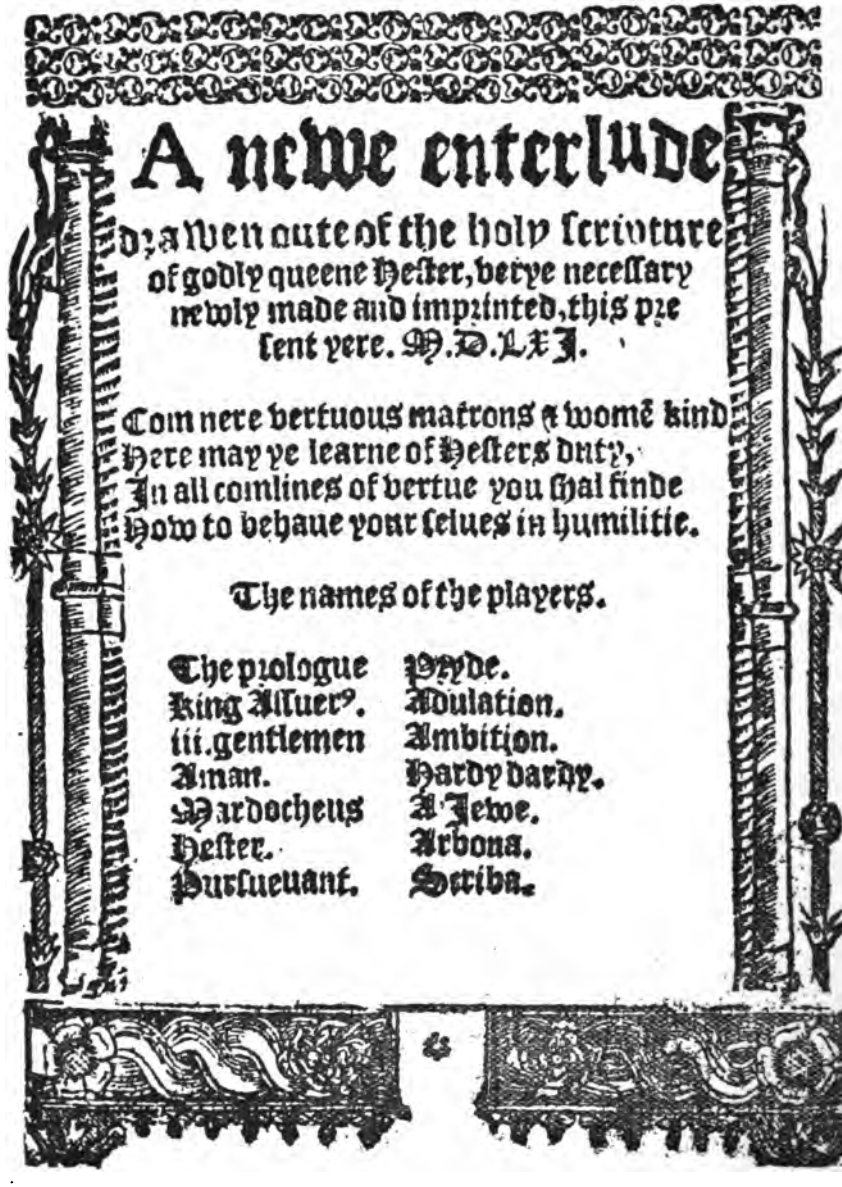
COPY: Bodleian Library, Oxford (imperfect); title wanting.

REMARKS: Spudeus and Gelasimus stand for Σπουδαῖος and Γελάσιμος=*Grave* and *Gay;* Eda and Agna, for Ἡδεῖα or Αἰδοία and Ἁγνά (?)=*Sweet* or *Modest*, and *Pure*.

The history of this copy is given by Hazlitt (H. 199), as follows: "G. Chalmers, in 1842, £9 9*s*.; resold Bright, 1845, £7 2*s*. 6*d*.; bought by Rodd, and marked in his catalogue of 1845 at £8; Bliss in 1858 (same copy), £12; bought for the Bodleian."

The book was entered in the Registers of the Stationers' Company thus: "19 July 1557—9 July 1558 . . . To William pekerynge to prynte these iij *Diologues contanynge very honeste learned pleasaunte and nete* and for his lycense he geveth to the howse. iiij*d*. (Arber I, 78.)

Lowndes and Hazlitt (H. 199) both describe the work as "*Poems by John Fisher of Magdalen College, Oxford.*" Later (C. & N., I. 219) Hazlitt again quotes and also



A newe enterlude drawen oute of the holy scripture of godly queene Hester, verye necessary newly made and imprinted, this present yere. M.D.LXI.

Com nere vertuous matrons & womē kind
Here may ye learne of Hesters duty,
In all comlines of vertue you shal finde
How to behaue your selues in humilitie.

The names of the players.

The prologue	Pryde.
King Assuer⁹.	Adulation.
iii. gentlemen	Ambition.
Aman.	Hardy dardy.
Mardocheus	A Jewe.
Hester.	Arbona.
Pursueuant.	Scriba.

IV. List A. 3.

The enterlude of Queene Hester.

A whyle in the world they: lyue may they leade
yea they: welth and worshippe dayly renewe,
But at the length I assure you in dede,
They: fanell and falsehed wyll come abrede,
whyche shall be to them more bytter than gall,
The hygher they clyme the deper they fall,

Assewerus.

Let vs then cesse thys conuocatione,
And this tyme dyssolue this congregation.

Hester.

That lyke as here they haue lyued deuoutly,
So god graunt them in heauen to lyue eternally,

Assewerus.

To the which we committe all this company.

FINIS

Imprynted at London by Wyllyam Pickeryngc
and Thomas Hacket, and are to be solde at
theyre shoppes.

V. List A. 3.

gives the collation as A–G, in fours, but does not say if the collation is of the Bodleian copy or another one. There appears to be no reason whatever for attaching John Fisher to Magdalen College.

Mr. Madan has kindly given the following note as to the author: "John Fisher was elected Scholar of New College, Oxford, in 1562 (from Winchester), and took his B.A. degree on 19 November 1565. Some time in 1564 he was admitted Fellow of New College; he was 'de villâ Abyngdon.' He was suspected of being popishly inclined; suspended from his Fellowship by the Visitor in 1573, he resigned it at the close of the year. This account is from Dr. Philip Bliss's notes in our copy of the Dialogues, but I must express my disbelief in the identity of this man, who was elected Scholar at Winchester in 1557, with the author of the Dialogues. The (imperfect) University Registers only mention two other possible John Fishers, one a 'secular chaplain,' B.C.L. 1532: the other, M.A. of Cambridge, incorporated 1533: but 'student in Oxford' looks as if our author never took his degree, and so could not appear in existing Registers."

This work is not mentioned in Ames under either Pickering or Tisdale.

8.—*A newe enterlude of godly queene Hester.* 1561. 4to.

COLLATION: A–E, in fours, G, three leaves; 23 printed leaves. Black Letter.

DESCRIPTION: *Title, see* page 70. *Colophon, see* page 71.

COPY: Duke of Devonshire's Library, Chatsworth.

REMARKS: Reprinted in J. P. Collier's Reprints, Red Series, 1863-4; and in Grosart's Fuller Worthies, Miscellanies, Vol. IV.

Entered in the Registers of the Stationers' Company, 30 Nov., 1560—8 March, 1561, thus: "Recevyd of william Pekerynge for his lycense for pryntinge of a playe of *quene Hester.* vjd." (Arber I, 154.)

In this work we meet with Pickering's mark (page 71) for the first time. I have found it used again only in the broadside "Songe between the Quenes Maiestie and Englande," by William Birch, 1564 (*see* page 75). As far as I am aware this mark has hitherto been unnoticed by bibliographers. It was evidently some ornament with the W. P. filled in by type, as, in the two examples we now have, the type of the W. P. differs.

The ornamental border at the bottom of the title (plate IV) has a marked similarity to the bottom ornament on the title page of Whitinton's *Vulgaria*, 1521, printed by Wynkyn de Worde. (*Hand-lists of English Printers.* W. de Worde, plate 13); and also to the ornament used by John Skot, in the *Body of Polycie*, 1521. (*Ib.* Plate to Skot).

Ames, under Pickering, only mentions the play as having been licensed to Pickering; and does not mention it under Thomas Hacket, where 1560 is given as the date of his earliest printing.

Payne Collier (Extracts I, 36) says that the work is "on several accounts, one of the most remarkable pieces of the time:" and in his *History of Dramatic Poetry* gives an analysis of the play.

4.—*The reedifying of Saloman's Temple.* [1564.]

COLLATION: Broadside. Black Letter, in three columns.

DESCRIPTION: The reedifying of Salomans || Temple, and the Laborers || thereof . || *Colophon:* Imprinted at London, for || Wyllyam Pickering dwelling || at saint Magnus Corner . || The title is enclosed within a border of metal cuts.

COPY: Library of Mr. Christie-Miller, at Britwell.

REMARKS: Collier (Extracts I, 96) knew of a copy, and Hazlitt (H. 566: C. & N., I, 393) describes that described above, which was sold at the Heber sale, 8th December, 1834 ("Lot 385: XVII Ballads") and bought by Thorpe for £13.

Entered, 1564, "the iiij^th Septembre . William pekerynge hath these ballettes lycensed as hereafter foloweth." Amongst them is "The erydyfynge of Saloman's temple." (Arber I, 262.)

5.—BIRCH, THOS. *A songe betwene the Quenes maiestie and Englande.* [1564.]

COLLATION: Broadside.

DESCRIPTION: *See* reduced facsimile, page 74.

COPY: Society of Antiquaries, London; it is trimmed, and measures 13⅝ × 10¾.

REMARKS: Reprinted (inaccurately) in the Harleian Miscellany, Park, Vol. X, 1813, p 262.

Entered, 1564. "iiij^th day of Septembre," with other ballads. No. 13 is "*A saynge betwene the quene and Englonde* || *Called come over the browne Bessye to me.*" (Arber I, 262.)

Previously (10 July, 1558—10 July, 1559) "William Coplande ys lycensed to prynte *a Dyologe sett furthe by twene the quenes maiestie and Englonde.* iiij*d.* (Arber I, 96.) Collier (Extracts I, 19, 97) says "The song was printed without date

A songe betwene the Queenes maiestie and Englande.

E Come ouer the born bessy/come ouer the born bessy
Sweete bessy come ouer to me
And I shall the take/and my dere lady make
Before all other that euer I see.

B Wy thinke I he a boier/of whom I do reioyce
and aunswer the not: I shall
Let me I say/what art thou that bindes me com away
and so earnestly book me call.

E I am thy louer faire/hath chose the to mine heir
and my name is merry Englande
Therefore come away/ and make no more delaye
Sweete bessie giue me thy hande

B Here is my hand/my dere louer Englande
I am thine both with mind and hart
For euer to endure/thou maest be sure
Vntill death vs two depart

E Lady this long space/hane I loued thy grace
more then I durste well saye
Hoping at the last/when all stormes were past
For to see thy sweete day

B Yet my louer England/ye shall understand
how Fortune on me did throwe
I was combled and toss/from pitter to pass
and prisoner in the Towre.

E Dere Lady we do know/how that treasonnes not a fete
bent about for to slee thy blonde
In contrarie to right/they did what they might
That we dare two faces in one hoode.

B Then was I caried to Woodstock/ a place close vnder lock
That no man might with me speake
And against all reason/they accused me of treason
and treasoy they did me threate.

E Oh my louer faire/my dearlinge and mine heire
full long for the I did lament
But no man durst speak/but they durst him threate
and quickly make him repent.

B Then was I deliuered there handes/but was sent to put
and good liberties for my faith comminge (in bonds
Not from my house to departe/nor no where else to serue
as thought I had den a kay cunninge.

E Why dere Lady I trow/those mad men did not knowe
That ye were daughter vnto Kinge Harry
And a princesse of birth/one of the noblest on earth
and sister vnto Queene Mary.

B Yes/yet I must forgiue/al such as do liue
if they will hereafter amende
And for those that are gone/God forgiue them euery one
and his mercy on them extend.

E Yet my latter dere/tell me now here
For what cause had ye this punishmente
For the commons did not know/nor no mad would the
The chief cause of your imprisonment. (sheme

B No nor they the self/ye would have decaid my beleife
But only by poliist and abusion
They could not deceiue me/but that they did suspect me
That I was not of their religion.

E Oh cruell creatures/ and also monstrous gloutonnes
That woulde suche a sweete blossome deface
But the lorde of his might/defended the in right
And shortened their arme and pollist

B Yet my louer dere/make me well here
Though they were men of the deuill
The scripture plainly sayth/al they that be of faith
must needes do good against euill.

E Oh sweete bessie pure/longe may ye endure
To reigne ouer vs in this lande
For your brothers do accuse/ye are the handmaid of
For he hath vested you with his hand. (the lawe

B Yf sweete creature be obedient/to gods holy commaun
and my proceedinges subject (deme as
And for that that is abused/shalle better bide
and that within short space.

E Dere Lady and Queene/I trust it shalle seene
ye shall reigne quietly without feale
And if any traitors there be/of any kind or degree
I pray God send them short life.

B I trust at faithful heres/will pray ten subiects yere
Ye no thing me there Queene ye true heir by right
And that mercy the father/as the loue of my father
That worthy prince King henrie the eighte.

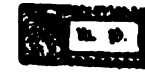
E Therefore let vs pray/to God both might and day
Continually and never to cease
That he will preserue your grace/ to reigne ouer vs
In tranquillite with and peace (long space
Amen.

All honor land ye praise, be to the lord God almighte
Who hath all princes hearts in his handes
That by his power ye might/he may gide the a right
For the welfe of all christen landes.

Finis. Q William Birche.

God saue the Queene.

Imprinted at London by William Pickeringe/dwelling under Sayntes Magnus church.



as a broadside by Pickering, and not by Copland, and is no doubt the production referred to in the first (Copland's) license. The present (1564) may be the registration of a reprint."

On this broadside appears for the second time Pickering's mark. The following is the actual size as printed :—

The words "Come o'er the bourn, Bessy, to me" are spoken by Edgar in Shakespeare's King Lear, Act III, Scene IV.

I can find no notice of William Birch and his writings. Is he the William Birch, second son of George Birch, Esq., of Birch, Lancashire, educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, B.A. 1547–8; elected Fellow of Corpus Christi College 1548; M.A. 1551; and died 1575? (*See* Coopers' Athenae Cantabrigienses I, 562.)

He also wrote the following poetical broadsides :—

I. A newe balade of the worthy service of late by maister Strangwige in Fraunce and of his death. Imprinted at London by Alexander Lacy for William Owen, and are to be sold at the little shop at the north dore of Poules. Folio sheet, of eighteen 4-line stanzas.

Copy in Mr. Christie-Miller's possession at Britwell. Reprinted in Collier's Old Ballads, 1840 (p. 45).

Licensed 22 July, 1562—22 July, 1563. (Arber I, 203; Collier, Extracts I, 19, 64.)

II. The complaint of a Sinner, vexed with paine,
Desyring the ioye, that ever shall remayne.
After W[illiam] E[lderton] moralized.

Imprinted at London by Alexander Lacy for Richard Applow, dwellyng in Pater noster row, hard by the Castle Tauerne. A sheet, in Black Letter, within a border.

Copy in Mr. Christie-Miller's posession at Britwell.

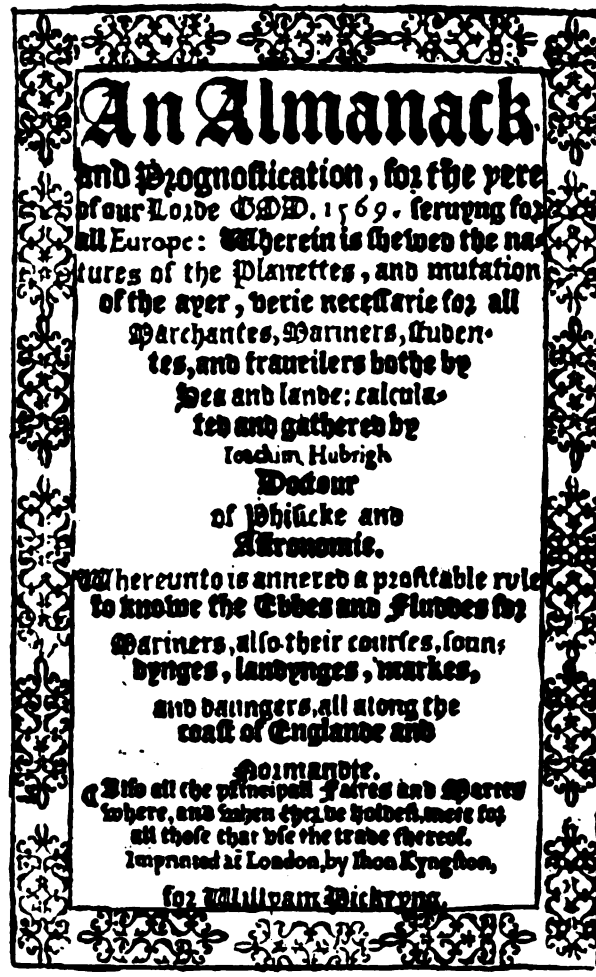
Licensed 22 July, 1562—22 July, 1563; and again, 22 July, 1565—22 July, 1566. (Arber I, 205.)

III. A warning to Engla[nd] let London begin:
To repent their iniquitie, & flee from their sin.

Imprinted at London in Little Britaine, by Alexander Lacie.

Copy in Mr. Christie-Miller's possession at Britwell.

Licensed Oct. (?) 1564. (Arber I, 266; Collier, Extracts I, 101.)



An Almanack
and Prognostication, for the yere
of our Lorde GOD. 1569. seruyng for
all Europe: Wherein is shewed the na-
tures of the Planettes, and mutation
of the ayer, verie necessarie for all
Marchantes, Mariners, studen-
tes, and traueilers bothe by
Sea and lande: calcula-
ted and gathered by
Ioachim Hubrigh
Doctour
of Phisicke and
Astronomie.
Whereunto is annexed a profitable rule
to knowe the Ebbes and Fluddes for
Mariners, also their courses, soun-
dynges, landynges, markes,
and daungers, all along the
coast of Englande and
Normandie.
Also all the principall Faires and Martes
where, and when ether be holdest, mete for
all those that vse the trade thereof.
Imprinted at London, by Ihon Kyngston,
for Willyam Pickeryng.

VII. List A. 6.

6.—HUBRIGHTE, JOACHIM. *Almanack and Prognostication.*

COLLATION: Forty-eight pages. Black Letter.

DESCRIPTION: *Title, see* page 76. The Prognostication has also a separate title page (printed in black), as follows: A Prognosti-||cation, made for the yere of our || lorde God, 1569, servyng for all Europe: || Wherein is plainly declared the mu-||tation of the ayre, by the iiij partes of || the yere, by the quarters of the Moone, || with other good necessarie rules and || documentes: composed and gathered || by Joachim Hubrighte, Doctour || in Phisicke and Astrono-||mie, of Midelbo-||rowe in sea-||lande . || Numerous woodcuts, astronomical and agricultural.

COPY: British Museum.

REMARKS: Hubrigh or Hubryghte's Almanac and Prognostication was entered in the Registers of the Stationers' Company for five successive years, from October, 1564 to 22 July, 1569. (Arber I, 268, 300, 332, 356, 382.) I have only found the 1569 edition. But Ames (p. 939) describes a copy of the 1568 edition as follows: "An almanacke and prognostication, for the yeare of our Lorde God 1568, servying for al Europe; wherein is shewed the natures of the planets, very necessary for all students, marchaunts, mariners, and trauellers both by sea and lande, gathered by Joachim Hubrigh, doctor in phisicke and astronomie. Whereunto is annexed, a profitable rule for mariners to know their ebbes, and fluddes, courses, landinges, soundinges, markes, and dangers, all alonge the coaste of Englande and Normandie. Also al the principall fayres and martes, where, and when they be holden; with new additions, meete for all those that vse the trade thereof. For William Pickringe, Octavo." The description is placed under the name of Henry Wykes the printer, and was taken from a copy in Ames' own possession.

Hazlitt (C. & N., I, 227) describes the 1569 issue. This edition is not in Ames' list of works printed by John Kingston.

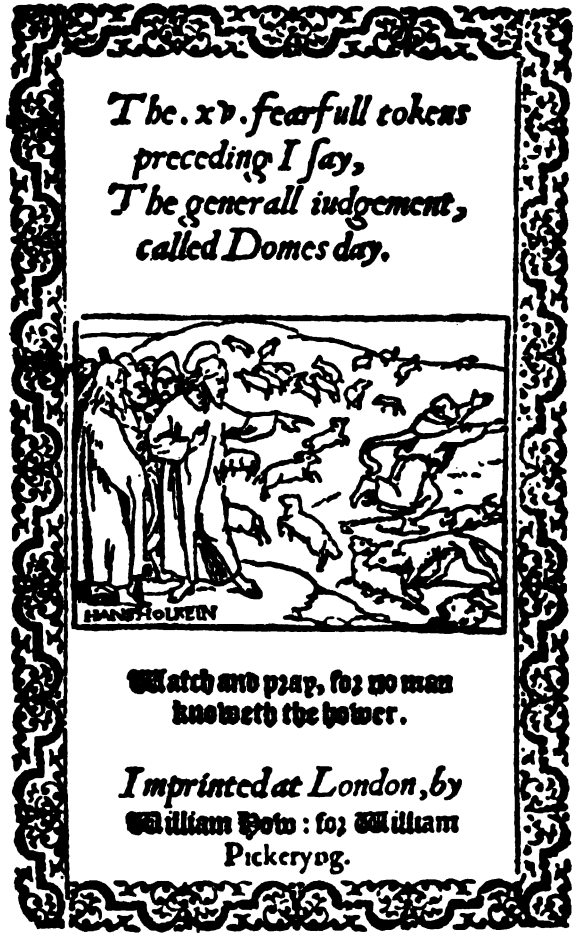
7.—WODHOUSE, W. *The XV. fearfull tokens.* [1565–66.]

COLLATION: A, two; B, four leaves; 6 ll. Black Letter.

DESCRIPTION: *Title, see* page 78. *End,* "Finis. W. Wodhouse."

COPY: Lambeth Palace Library.

REMARKS: Licensed "[22 July, 1565—22 July, 1566]; Recevyd of Wylliam pekerynge for his lycense for pryntinge of a ballett entituled *the tokyns procedyng the Judgement Days.* iiij*d.*" (Arber I, 303).


The. xv. fearfull tokens
preceding I say,
The generall iudgement,
called Domes day.
HANS HOLBEIN
Watch and pray, for no man
knoweth the hour.
Imprinted at London, by
William How: for William
Pickeryng.

VIII. List A. 7.

"This little work serves to introduce a new name into our poetical bibliography. Whether W. Wodhouse was the ancestor of Peter Woodhouse, the author of "The Flea" (1605) we cannot determine . . . This tract, if we mistake not, is nowhere mentioned." (Collier, Bib. Cat. II, 537.)

Not mentioned amongst the list of works printed by William How, in Ames.

8.—LINDSAY, SIR DAVID. *Dialogue between Experience and a Courtier.* 1566. 4to.

COLLATION: ✠, four; A–T, in eights; U, two leaves; [4] + 154 ll. With numerous woodcuts.

DESCRIPTION: *Title, see* page 80. *Colophon* fo. 154ª, "¶ Imprinted at Lon-||don by Thomas Purfoote and || William Pickering . || Añ + 1566 + ||"

COPY: University Library, Cambridge (the copy photographed and described); Advocates Library, Edinburgh (last two leaves are reprinted, and part of the title page is cut away); Britwell; and Ashburnham Sale (1897), 2405.

REMARKS: Described in David Laing's edition of "The Works of Sir David Lyndsay," 1879. Vol. III.

The 'certaine other pithy pieces of woorkes' added to the dialogue are:—(1) The tragedy of David Beton. (2) His Epistle to the Prelates. (3) To the Princes. (4) The testament of the Popiniaye. (5) Her complaint. (6) The Popiniayes Epistle to the king. (7) The Popiniay to her brethren in the court. (8) The communication betwene the Popiniay and her executours. (9) The dreame of Sir David Lindsay; the prologue; the quantitie of ye earth; the diuision of ye earth; of earthly paradise; the complaint of the commonweale of Scotland; an exhortation to the kinges grace. (10) The death of Queene Magdalene.

Registered "[22 July, 1565—22 July, 1566]; Recevyd of Wylliam pekeryng for his lycense for prynting of a boke intituled *a dyalogs betwene experyence and a Courtiour* compyled by master Davy lynsaye . bothe in englessh and skottessh." (Arber I, 305.)

9.—PHILLIPS, JOHN. *Examination and Confession of certain wytches at Chensforde, Essex.* 1566.

COLLATION: A, eight; B, four leaves; 12 ll. Black Letter.

DESCRIPTION: *Title, see* page 81; fo. 2ª, Epistle to the Reader; fo. 3, Preface (in verse); ff. 4, 5ª, Exhortation to all faithfull men, &c., ending "Finis Iohn Phillips"; ff. 6–10, The Examination . . . before Doctor Cole and

¶ A Dialogue be-
tweene Experience and a Courtier,
of the miserable estate of the worlde, first
compiled in the Schottishe tongue,
by syr David Lyndsey Knight.
(a man of great learning
and science) nowe
newly correc-
ted, and
made perfit Englishe, pleasaunt
& profitable for al estates
but chiefly for Gent-
lemen, and such
as are in au-
thoritie.
¶ Hereunto are anexid certaine other
pithy pieces of woorkes, inuen-
ted by the said Knight,
as shal largely ap-
peare in the ta-
ble after fo-
lowing.
(.˙.)

Anno. 1566.

IX. List A. 8

The Examination and Confession of certaine Wytches at Chensforde in the Countie of Essex, before the Quenes maiesties Judges, the xxvi. daye of July.

ANNO. 1566.

at the Assise holden there as then, and one of them put to death for the same offence, as their examination declareth more at large.

X. List A. 9.

Master Foscure; [fo. 6b, "Mother Waterhouse of Hathfylde peverell of the age of lxiii yeares, being examined . . . confessed as followeth and the 29 daye suffered."]; ff. 11–12, "Jone Waterhouse, daughter to the Mother Waterhouse, beinge of the age of xviii yeres, and examined, cõfesseth as followeth." *Colophon* (fo. 12a), "Imprinted at London by Willyam Powell for Wylliam Pickeringe dwellinge at Sainte Magnus corner and are there for to be solde. Anno . 1566 . the . 13 August."

COPY: Lambeth Palace Library.

REMARKS: Registered "[22 July, 1566—22 July, 1567]; Recevyd of Wylliam pekeryngе for . . . pryntinge of *the examynation of certain wy(t)ches at Chensforde befor* the *quenes majesties Jugdges in the countye of Essex.* iiij*d.*" (Arber I, 328.)

See also Remarks to No. 11.

10.—PHILLIPS, JOHN, (?). *The second examination and Confession of Mother Agnes Waterhouse and Jone her daughter.* 1566.

COLLATION: A, eight leaves; 8 ll. Black Letter, with woodcuts.

DESCRIPTION: *Title, see* page 84. *Colophon* (fo. 8a), "Imprinted at London by Willyam Powell for Wyllyam Pickering dwelling at Sainte Magnus corner and are there for to be soulde . Anno . 1566 . the . 13 . August."

COPY: Lambeth Palace Library.

REMARKS: Registered "[22 July, 1566—22 July, 1567]; Recevyd of Wylliam pekeryngе for his lycense for pryntinge of *the seconde examynation and conf[e]syon* of Augnues Waterhouse and Jone hyr Daughter, &c. iiij*d.*" (Arber I, 329.)

See also Remarks to No. 11.

11.—PHILLIPS, JOHN, (?). *End and last confession of mother Waterhouse.* 1566.

COLLATION: A, two leaves; 2 ll. Black Letter, with woodcuts on ff. 1 and 2.

DESCRIPTION: *Title* and beginning, *see* page 85. *Colophon* (fo. 2b), "Imprinted at London by William Powell for Wyllyam Pickeringe dwellinge at Saint Magnus corner and are there for to be solde . Anno . 1566 . the . 23 . Auguste."

COPY: Lambeth Palace Library.

REMARKS: No entry of registration. The following notes refer to Nos. 9–11:—

Collier (Extracts I, 148) described this copy of No. 10, but omitted to notice the very next tract in the same volume—The Second Examination (No. 11), for under the registration entry of No 11 (I, 150) he said, "it has not been preserved that the Editor is aware." In 1865 (Bibl. Cat., 155), he again described No. 10, and said, "there are two other tracts." Hazlitt (H., 456), describes all three works, but not correctly.

Collier (Bibl. Cat., 155), gives the following remarks concerning the author: "It is not easy . . . to decide between the works of John Phillips and John Philip, who, as far as we can judge, was an author and a versifier about the same period. We feel pretty confident that they were different persons, although they have been sometimes confounded. The principal production of *John Philip* appears to be "Life, Death, and Funeral of Sir Philip Sidney," 1587, but ten years earlier, *he, or the other John Phillips*, had printed a novel (as he calls it) of 'Cleomenes and Juliet,' and in 1571 he had put forth a broadside on the demise of Sir Wm. Garret, which was printed by Richard Jones."

A memoir of John Phillips, author of "Cleomines and Sophonisba," is given in Coopers' Athenae Cantabrigienses (II, 99).

Nos. 9, 10 and 11 were reprinted in the Philobiblion Society's Miscellanies, Vol. VIII.

12.—*Remember man both night and daye*, etc. 1566.

COLLATION: Broadside. Black Letter. Printed in double columns, within a border of French metal cuts.

DESCRIPTION: *Begin* "Remember man both night and daye, ||
Thou must nedes die, there is no nay." ||

Colophon: "Imprinted at London by Willyam || Powell for Willyam Pickering dwelling || at Saint Magnus corner . Anno . 1566 . || 21 . August."

COPY: Library of Mr. Christie-Miller, Britwell.

REMARKS: Licensed to Pickering with other ballads, iiij day of September, 1564. (Arber I, 262). The present broadside, dated 1566, is probably a later edition.

This copy was sold at the Heber sale, 8th December, 1834, with other broadsides, including "The reedifying of Saloman's Temple," (*see* No. 4). Another edition, undated, "Imprinted at London at Holburne Conduite by John Tysdale and John Charlewood," is in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries, and is described by Lemon (p. 15).

The second exa
mination and Confession of
mother Agnes Waterhouse & Jone
her daughter, vpon her arainement
with the questions & answeres of Agnes
Browne the childe, on whom the spirite
haunteth at this present, deliberately de-
clared before Justice Southcote and
master Gerard the quenes attur-
ney, the. xxvii. day of July
Anno. 1566. no lesse
wonderfull then
most true.

XI. List A. 10.

¶ The ende and last confession of mother Waterhouse at her death, whiche was the xxix. daye of July.

Anno. 1566.

Fyrste (beinge redi prepared to receiue her death) she confessed earnestly that shee had bene a wytche and vsed suche execrable sorcerye the space of. xv. yeres, and had don many abhominable dede, the which she repented earnestely & vnfaynedly, and desyred almyghty God forgeuenes in that she had abused hys most holy name by

XII. List A. 11.

13.—DAVIE, SAMPSON. *Confession and end of Thomas and Christopher Norton.* [1570.] 8vo.

COLLATION: A, eight leaves; 8 ll. Black Letter.

DESCRIPTION: *Title*, unknown. Fo. 2[a], "Vnto the Christian Reader," a dedication in verse, with small ornamental block at the end. Ff. 3, 4[a], "The Confession and ende of Thomas Norton." Ff. 4[b] and 5[a], "The end and confession of Christopher Norton." Ff. 5[b], 6, "An Exhortation to all true subjects, and a warning to the Papists." Fo. 7, "To the Papists." This is signed "Sampson Davie." Fo. 7[b], has a border, within which is an oval woodcut, used again this year in No. 14 (*see* page 89).

COPY: Lambeth Palace Library; wants ff. 1, 8.

REMARKS: Registered "22 July, 1569—22 July, 1570; Recevyd of Wylliam pekerynge for his lycense for pryntinge of *the ende and confession of* Thomas Norton *and* Christofer Norton *Rebelles* in Yorkeshyre which Dyed xxvij of may 1570. iiij*d.*" (Arber I, 413.)

Collier (Bibl. Cat. I, 180) describes a perfect copy: "Davie, Sampson. The ende and confession of Thomas Norton of Yorkshire, the popishe rebell, and Chr. Norton his nephew; which suffered at Tiburn for treason the 27 of May.—Printed by W. Howe, 1570. 8vo. 8 ll." Hazlitt (H, 143) mentions the Lambeth copy. Ames quotes the work under Howe, but not under Pickering.

14.—G., F. *End and Confession of John Felton.* 1570.

COLLATION: Broadside. Black Letter, in three columns.

DESCRIPTION: The end and Confession of Iohn Felton || who suffered in Paules Churcheyard || in London . the viii . of August, for high || Treason . 1570 . || *Colophon:* Imprinted at London, in Fleetstreete, by William How : for William Pickering : and are to be solde at his shop at S. Magnus corner.

COPY: Mr. Christie-Miller's Library, Britwell.

REMARKS: This copy was sold to Thorpe with eleven other ballads at the Heber sale (Lot 381) in 1834 for £17. Mentioned by Hazlitt (H, 217, C. & N., I, 175).

There is no entry in the Stationers' Registers with this title, but an entry (1570–1571) of "The beginning and ending of all popery," (*See* No. 64, List B.) may be meant for it.

This is not mentioned in Ames under either William How, or Pickering.

15.—KNEL, THOMAS, JUNIOR. *Declaration of such tempestious, and outragious Fluddes, etc.* 1570.

COLLATION: A–E, in fours; 20 ll. Black Letter.

DESCRIPTION: *Title, see* page 88. *Colophon, see* page 89.

COPIES: University Library, Cambridge. An imperfect copy which was sold at Sotheby's, 20th August, 1878 (Lot 604), with J. Indagine's Brief Introduction, &c. (1558), to Mr. Kerslake, for £1 19*s.*, I have been unable to find.

REMARKS: Licensed 22 July, 1570—22 July, 1571; "Recevyd of John Alde and Wylliam pekerynge for theyre lycense for pryntinge of floudes and waters. iiij*d.*" (Arber I, 205.)

Hazlitt mentions (C. & N., II, 222) the imperfect copy sold at Sotheby's. The work is arranged under counties as follows:—Bedforde, Norfolk, Bishopric of Ely, Lincolnshire, Huntingtonshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, Northamptonshire, Buckingham Shyre, Sussex, Kent, Essex, Suffolk, and Oxford.

In the Dictionary of National Biography, under Thomas Knel, is given a description of Thomas Knel and Thomas Knel, *Junior*, and their works; but this work of the younger Knel is not mentioned. As far as I can discover, Thomas Knel, Junior, has not hitherto been mentioned as the author of this book. His name is given on fo. 20ª, "Finis ‖ (℣ T . Knel . Iu .)."

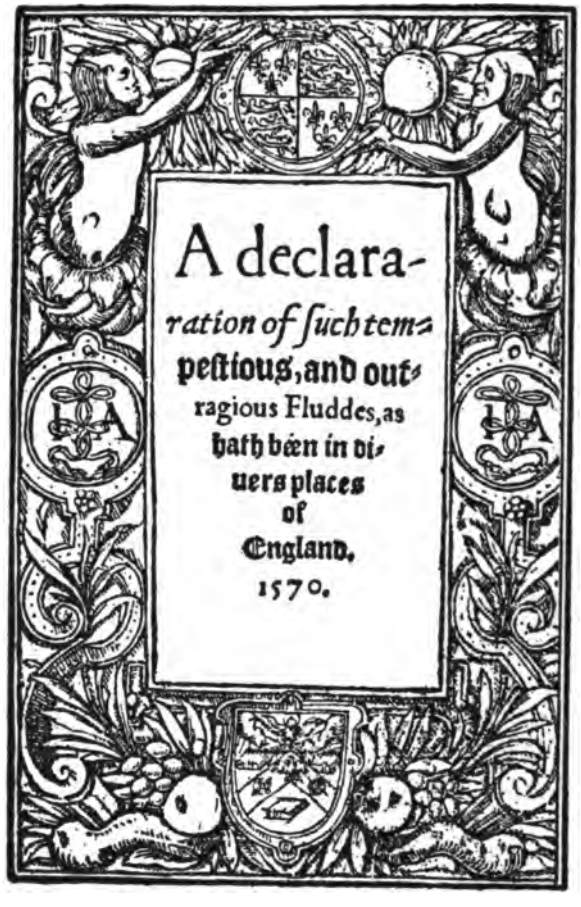
John Alde also printed "A very lamentable and woful discours of the fierce fluds whiche lately flowed in Bedfordshire, in Lincolnshire, and in many other places, with the great losses of sheep and other cattel. The v of October 1570. Finis, qd. Richard Tarlton. Imprinted at the long shop adjoining unto St. Mildred Churche, by John Allde, 1570" (Hazlitt, H, 591). A copy of this is at Britwell. It is reprinted in Collier's Old Ballads, 1840 (p. 78).

The woodcut at the end of this work (page 89) was also used in Davie's "Confession and end of Thomas and Christopher Norton" [1570]. *See* No. 13.

16.—*The General Pardon . . . drawn out of Frenche, into Englishe, by William Hayward.*

COLLATION: A, eight; B, four leaves; 12 ll. Black Letter.

DESCRIPTION: *Title, see* page 91. Fo. 2ª, "The General ‖ Pardon." ‖ Followed by a woodcut representing Christ washing the feet of his disciples; then: "Alpha & Omega Primus & Nouissimus ‖ Pontifex Maximus." ‖ This ends on fo. 3ᵇ. On the same page is: "Alpha & Omega . Eſay . 14 b. ‖ 44 b. ‖ Apoca . 1 b. 22 e. ‖ ¶ The fyrſt & the laſt of this name ‖ to all faythfull Christians, health ‖ and heauenly



A declara-
ration of ſuch tem-
peſtious, and out-
ragious Fluddes, as
hath bẽn in di-
uers places
of
England.
1570.

XIII. List A. 15.

Imprinted at Lon-
don in Fleet Street, by William
How: for John Alde, and
William Pickeryng.

1571.

XIV. List A. 15.

benediction . Amen ." || This ends on fo. 4^{b}, and is followed on the same page by: "¶ Libertie to Reade the holy Bible || in euery Language ." || This ends fo. 5^{b}.

So far the Cambridge copy is perfect. The rest has been cut or torn through, but sufficient remains to show of what a complete copy should consist.

The following headings appear in the imperfect portion :—

Fo. 6^{a}, ¶ Authorite to . . .
Fo. 6^{b}, . . . oose a Ghostly father ||
Fo. 7^{a}, ¶ Partisipation of th . . .
& all other his ben . . .
Fo. 8^{a}, Dispensation o . . .
and wh . . . . .
Fo. 8^{b}, . . . ue mens lawes ||
. . . adicions . ||
Fo. 9^{b}, . . . of sinnes to the de-||
. . . s of ymages . ||
Fo. 10^{b}, . . . paines of Purgatory ||
Fo. 11^{b}, . . . e Pardons geuen ||
. . . ut Money ||
End, fo. 12^{b}, "Finis ."

COPY: University Library, Cambridge (imperfect).

REMARKS: This copy was discovered in 1852, "during some repairs in the Old Court of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, when the workmen opened a small cupboard which had been closed and so covered up as to be totally unknown to exist." In it was found this little tract and other miscellaneous articles, about which the late Professor Charles C. Babington read a paper before the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, printed (with a printer's facsimile of "The General Pardon") in the Society's Communications, 1859 (Vol. I, 51). Professor Babington, after vainly trying to hear of another copy, presented the work to the University Library.

Ames, under Pickering, gives the "General Pardon" under 1571, but says it was printed for Pickering by Maunsell. But under Andrew Maunsell I only find "A Free Pardon," &c., translated by John Daniel, 1576. Under Howe the "General Pardon" is not mentioned.

William Hayward is evidently the same person as the translator of Guarna's *Bellum Grammaticale*, 1569. *See* also No. 39, page 97.

The General
Pardon, geuen longe agone, and
sythe newly confyrmed, by our
Almightie Father, with many
large Priuileges, Grauntes,
and Bulles graunted for
euer, As it is to be
seen here-
after:
Drawne out of Frenche,
into English.

By VVyllyam Hayvvard.

¶ *IMPRINTED*
at London, by VVyllyam
Hovv, for VVyllyam
Pickeringe.

XV. List A. 16.

LIST B.

BALLADS AND OTHER WORKS LICENSED TO WILLIAM PICKERING NOT YET FOUND.

19 July, 1557—9 July, 1558.

1.—"a ballett called *a Ryse and wake.* iiij*d.*" (Arber I, 74.)

Collier[1] remarks, "Probably this is the same ballad as that subsequently licensed under the title of 'Awake and Arise.' On p. 97 will be found entered by Pickering, in September, 1564, a ballad called "Awake, awake, O thou man mortal!"[2] which was most likely different from the above."

1568-1569. John Alde received lycense to print "a ballett intituled 'awake out of your slumbre,'"[3] to which Collier adds the following note: "[On p. 1 it will be seen that Pickering had a license for a ballad entituled 'Arise and wake,' and in September, 1564, he had a license for 'Awake, awake, O thou man mortal.' Either, or neither, may have been that above recorded; but near the end of Addit. MS., No. 15,233, in the British Museum, is a ballad with the burden of 'Arise, I say,' of which a more brief, and on some accounts a more correct version, is contained in the Editor's MS. of the reign of James I., under the title of 'Awake and Arise.' This, it is highly probable, may be Pickering's ballad 'Arise and wake.']"

2.—"ballett Called *the epitaph upon the Death of Kynge Edwarde the VJ*th., and for his lycense he geveth to the howse. iiij*d.*" (Arber I, 78.)

Earlier, in 1557, the same Epitaph was licensed to John Wallye and Mistress Toye.[4] A later issue, printed "by John Charlewod and John Tysdale," in the Society of Antiquaries, London, is described by Lemon,[5] and is printed in the Harleian Miscellany, Vol. X., p. 252. It must have been printed 1562 or 1563.

Collier[6]: "Possibly this piece, licensed to Pickering, was Thos. Churchyard's production . . . It is reprinted by him in his 'General Rehearsall of Warres,' the dedication of which to Sir Christopher Hatton is misdated 2579 instead of 1579."

30 Nov., 1560—8 March, 1561.

3.—a ballett called Tot[ten]ham Crosse. iiij*d.* (Arber I, 154.)

Collier[7]: "We ought to read *Tottenham Cross*, for Tottenham was of old often written 'Totham.' Can this have been an early and unknown impression of the ballad of 'The Tournament of Tottenham,' existing in several ancient MSS., but not known to have

(1) Extracts, I, 1. (2) *See* No. 12, page 94. (3) Extracts, I, 185.
(4) Arber, I, 75. (5) Page 11. (6) Extracts, I, 14. (7) Extracts, I, 37.

been printed until Bedwell introduced it into his 'History of Tottenham,' 1631? Percy, Ritson, and others have published it in their Collections; and in 1836 Mr. Wright printed it in black letter from a MS. in the Library of the University of Cambridge, Ff. 5, 48."

22 July, 1564—4 Sept., 1564.

4.—a ballett intituled *Waltham Crosse*, etc. iiij*d.* (Arber I, 261.)

On 22 Marcij, 1586-7. Richard Jones enters "a ballad begynnynge *when Walthams Crosse*, etc., which he is to prynt so yt may be laufully printed."[1]

5.—a ballett intituled *the Dysputation between love and monye.* iiij*d.* (Arber I, 261.)

6.—a ballett intituled Loo here I ly synner with a prayer to the same. iiij*d.* (Arber I, 261.)

7.—a ballett intituled *the history of* Jobe *the faythfull servaunte of* God, etc. iiij*d.* (Arber I, 262.)

A ballad of this title was also entered to John Kingston[2] earlier in this period [1563-64], and Collier reprints the ballad from the Addit. MSS., No. 15,225, in the British Museum.[3]

iiijth Daye of Septembre, 1564.

8.—a ballett of *the Lord* Wentforde. (Arber I, 262.)

During 1558-1559, there is an entry in the Stationers' Register that "Owyn Rogers ys fined for that he prynted a ballett of the Lorde Wenfurth [Wentworth] without lycense. ij*s.*"[4] But Collier[5] says: "The ballad Rogers printed was entitled 'The purgacion of the ryght honourable Lord Wentworth, concerning the crime layde to his charge, made the x of Januarie. Anno. 1558.—Imprinted at London by Owen Rogers, &c. Anno. 1559, the xxviij. of April,' *i.e.*, six days after the acquittal. It is subscribed John Markant, elsewhere spelt Merquaunt, in which form it is given by Ritson,[6] who, however, knew nothing of the ballad on Lord Wentworth, which is a comparatively recent discovery." *See* also No. 28 (page 96), for Markant's other works.

9.—a ballett: *Complaynte of the Wecked enymes of* Christe, *shewynge ye very Cause and Remedy of the Dearth.*

Collier[7] gives a quotation from Stowe's Annals, p. 1112, that "the poor citizens of London were this year [1564] plagued with a threefold plague, pestilence, scarcity of money, and dearth of victuals."

(1) Arber II, 467. (2) Arber I, 260. (3) Extracts I, 92. (4) Arber I, 101.
(5) Extracts I, 22. (6) Bibl. Poet, p. 278. (7) Extracts I, 96.

10.—a ballett: *Then and in those Dayes then I saye then the glory of God shall appere to all men.*

Licensed to Wallye and Mistress Toye, 1557-58.[1]

11.—a ballet: *An epytaphe upon ye Death of J.* Bradforde.

Bradford was burned in Smithfield on 1st of July, 1555. Thomas Marshe entered the same, 1560-61.[2]

12.—a ballet: *Awake, Awake, o thou man mortall*

See Note to No. 1 (page 92).

13.—a ballett of *a myller I am.*

John Wallye and Mistress Toye had "*a ballett of a mylner,*" licensed to them 1557-58,[3] and Collier[4] notes "There are several old ballads respecting millers, which may be meant by the preceding entry (Ballett of a mylner). In 1564, Pickering had a license for 'A Miller I am'; and Richard Jones printed the 'Miller of Abingdon,' without date, but certainly later. Wood (Ath., Oxon. Ed., Bliss. I, 170) assigns this humorous production to Dr. Andrew Borde, on the authority of Thomas Newton, of Chester, who wrote Borde's name on a copy of it. In Thomas Deloney's 'Strange Histories,' 1607, an old tune of 'A Miller would a wooing ride' is mentioned, and this may have been the 'Ballad of a Miller' in the entry."

14.—a ballett: *An Instruction of a father to his children.*

15.—a ballet: *Yf ever I marrye I will marrye a mayde.*

Licensed also to J. Charlewood and Mistress Toye, 1557-58.[5]

16.—a ballett: *The sprete ye flesshe ye worlde and the Devell.*

Collier remarks,[6] "A ballad with this title is subsequently licensed to Peter French," 1569-70.[7]

17.—a ballett: *I will have a Wedowe yf ever I marrye.*

Also licensed to Charlewood and Toye, 1557-58.[8]

18.—a ballett: *London hath no pere a.*

(1) Arber I, 76. (2) Arber I, 155. (3) Arber I, 76. (4) Extracts I, 8.
(5) Arber I, 76. (6) Extracts I, 97. (7) Arber I, 412 (8) Arber I, 75.

19.—a ballett: *The Countrye hath no pere a.*

Collier[1] says that, "in the moral-play of 'The Three Ladies of London,' printed 1584 and 1592, Simplicity, the Clown or Vice of the performance, introduces a stanza of a ballad, running as follows:—

'The Country hath no peare,
where Conscience comes not once a year, &c.'

A moralization of 'The country has no peer' was also published, which proves its popularity, and shows why Simplicity introduced it, or a parody upon it."

20.—a ballett: *Remembre man both nyghte and Daye*
thowe muste nedes Dye thayre ys no nay, etc.

An edition of this broadside, dated 1566, is described at No. 12, List A.

21.—a ballett: *aske mercy man for thy greate synne.*

22.—a ballett: *such as may Wed at Will and Dubble at every letter*, etc.

Collier[2] remarks, "The words 'and double at every letter' may have been some direction as to the mode of singing this ballad, but it may have been only a corruption introduced by the Clerk."

23.—a ballett: *Who loveth to leve in peace and marketh every chanche*, etc.

A poem in Tottell's Miscellany, 1557, begins with the following line, which, no doubt, is what is meant by the preceding entry:—

"Who loves to live in peace, and marketh every change."[3]

24.—a ballett: *Shall I Wed an Aged Man* || *with a complaynte of a Wedowe agaynste an olde man.*

September or October, 1564.

25.—a ballett: *Women to please who taketh in hande.* iiij*d.* (Arber I, 265).

26.—a ballett: *anombre muste Dysplease* with *a Dyaloge upon Christes* byrth. iiij*d.* (Arber I, 265.)

Edwarde Allde, 8 August, 1586, entered "*A Dialoge uppon Christes birth* intituled *o poore*," etc.[4]

(1) Extracts I, 97. (2) Extracts I, 98. (3) Extracts I, 98. (4) Arber II, 453.

27.—a *quere intituled a godly newe Dyaloge betwene* Christe *and a synner* meyte for all ages. iiij*d.* (Arber I, 265.)

"A Dialogue between Christ and a Sinner," was licensed to Edward White, 1 August, 1586.

After October, 1564—July, 1565.

28.—*a new yeres gyfte* intituled *with spede Retorne to* God, made by John Markante. iiij*d.* (Arber I, 267.)

John Markante, Markhant, or Merquant, was the author of[1]:—

(1) The purgacion of the ryght honourable Lord Wentworth, 1559. *See* the note to No. 8 (page 93).

(2) A new yeres gyfte, 1564. *See* No. 28.

(3) Verses compiled by John Merquant to diverse good purposes. Licensed to T. Purfoot, 1580.[2]

29.—*a*[n] Epytaphe of John Philpotte iiij*d.* (Arber I, 268.)

Collier says John Philpot, the martyr, had been burnt in Smithfield on 18th December, 1555, and this broadside was, therefore, no doubt, a republication of a tribute to his memory, in a broadside, which came out at the time of Philpot's death.[3]

30.—a ballett intituled *the lamentation of an old servynge man lamentynge his estate.* iiij*d.* (Arber, 1, 268.)

22 July, 1565—22 July, 1566.

31.—a boke intituled *The lamentation for ye Towne of Chensford Wrekell Spryngfylde Ip*[*s*]*wich and Waltham.* iiij*d.* (Arber I, 293.)

32.—a ballett intituled the Lamentation of Chensford Wrekell Ip[s]wich Spryngfylde and Waltham. iiij*d.* (Arber I, 293.)

Collier, speaking of the first entry, says: "This entry is repeated immediately afterwards in the very same words and figures";[4] an examination of the two entries will show that Collier's statement is wrong.

Stow (in Annales, 1600, p. 1115) thus narrates the occasion of this lamentation:—"The 16 of July about nine of the clocke at night began a tempest of lightning and thunder, with showers of haile, which continued till three of the clocke the next morning

(1) Hazlitt, H., 372. (2) Ritson's Bibl. Poet., p. 278. (3) Collier's Extracts I, 102.
(4) Collier's Extracts, I, 112.

so terrible, that at Chelmsford in Essex 500 acres of corn were destroyed, the glasse windowes on the east side of the toune, and the west & south sides of the church were beaten downe, with also the tiles of their houses, besides diverse barnes, chimneies, & the battlements of the Church which were overthrowne. The like harme was done in many other places, as at Leedes, Cranebrooke, Dover, etc."[1]

33.—a ballett intituled *ye lamentation of a yonge man beynge presoner in ye Counter in the Pultrye in London. iiijd.* (Arber I, 294.)

34.—*a bref Declaration of the Cruell battry and horryable warre both by see and lande which fell betwene ij monsterus nations in the lande of Gryngurt.* iiij*d.* (Arber I, 294.)

35.—a ballett intituled *All in a garden grene betwene ij lovers.* iiij*d.* (Arber I, 295.)

Licensed to William Griffith 1568–69, and Collier[2] says, "This ballad is extant in MS. (the property of the Editor) but of a considerably later date."

36.—*an almanacke and prognostication of* Henry Rocheforth *for the yere of our lorde God* 1566. viij*d.* (Arber I, 299.)

The Almanack and Prognostication for 1560, printed by Owen Rogers, is in the British Museum. Other issues were entered in the Registers; 1565 is entered to himself, and again to Thos. Purfoot;[3] 1568 to Bynneman.[4]

37.—*a mery pleasaunt history Donne in tymes paste by* Erasmus Roterdamus. iiij*d.* (Arber I, 303.)

Collier[5]: "Possibly a re-impression of 'The Praise of Folly,' translated by Sir Thomas Challoner."

38.—a ballett intituled *the maryage of* Jhesu Christe *and the sowle of man.* iiij*d.* (Arber I, 303.)

39.—a boke intituled *the preface of and upon the Dyscours of the warre of the ij g[r]amer speches that ys to say the* Nowne *and the* Verbe. viij*d.* (Arber I, 305.)

Evidently a translation by Andreas Guarna of Salerno's "Bellum Grammaticale." The British Museum has W. Hayward's translation, printed by Bynneman, 1569; also editions of 1576 and 1635.

(1) Arber I, 293. (2) Extracts I, 196. (3) Arber I, 263, 265. (4) Arber I, 387. (5) Extracts I, 125.

40.—a ballet: *ye hunte ys up, etc.* iiij*d.* (Arber I, 305.)

Collier[1]: "'The hunt is up,' was a title formerly given to any song intended to arouse in the morning, and the title was of course derived from a tune or song employed by early hunters. 'The hunt is up,' seems to have formed the burden of one of our oldest ballads on record, in the 28th of Henry VIII. (*See* Collier's Shakespeare, i., cclxxxviii.) A poet of the name of Gray is mentioned by Puttenham in his 'Art of English Poesy,' 1589, as having been 'in good estimation' with Henry VIII., and afterwards with Protector Somerset, for making certain merry ballads, whereof one chiefly was 'The hunt is up, the hunt is up.' In the Editor's MS. are two ballads, one called 'The Kinges hunt is upp,' and the other, 'The newe Hunt's upp,' the first of which may be the very song written by Gray, since 'Harry our king' is twice mentioned in it." Then Collier prints "The Kinges hunt is upp," the first verse of which is:—

"The hunt is up, the hunt is up,
As it is well nigh daye,
And Harry our King is gone hunting
To bring his deere to bay."

The first verse in the other "Hunts up" is given:—

"The hunt is up, the hunt is up;
Awake, my lady free!
The sunne hath risen from out his prison
Beneath the glistering sea."

and Collier remarks "This is merely a love serenade, and, as we have said, in time 'a hunt's up' was used for any morning song; Shakespeare so employs it in 'Romeo and Juliet,' Act iii, Scene 5."

41.—a ballett: Roowe well ye marynors, etc. iiij*d.* (Arber I, 305.)

Collier remarks[2]: "This ballad, and the tune to which it was sung, seem to have become most popular; the present is our earliest notice of it, but . . . we have evidence that it was a great favourite, by the number of other productions written in imitation of it, some of them moralizations." A moralization was entered to Pickering, 1566-67. *See* No. 45.

22 July, 1566—22 July, 1567.

42.—*a mery pronostication* for the yere of our lorde god 1567 by J. Dernyll. iiij*d.* (Arber I, 337.)

Collier[3]: "This 'merry prognostication' was doubtless in ridicule of productions of the kind, and humorously applied to the circumstances of the time. This mode of writing prevailed much afterwards, and Thomas Dekker availed himself of it in his 'Owl's Almanack,' a work of much drollery, satire, and ability, printed early in the reign of James I."

(1) Extracts I, 129. (2) Extracts I, 130. (3) Extracts I, 158.

43.—a ballett intituled *Declarynge the very tru Waye how that with fyre the worlde shall Decay*, etc. iiij*d.* (Arber I, 337.)

44.—a ballett intituled *the historye of* Judith *and* Holyfernes. iiij*d.* (Arber I, 340.)

45.—a ballett intituled *Roo well ye marynors moralized.* iiij*d.* (Arber I, 340.)

See No. 41.

46.—*a Warnynge to Englonde by Casualtes of fyre for all howsholders to take warnynge there at.* iiij*d.* (Arber I, 343.)

Collier[1]: "This ballad was, perhaps, occasioned by two recent 'casualties of fire.' On 22nd April, 1567, 'two long streetes, with great riches of the town' of Oswestry, were burnt; and on 27th May, '37 houses, besides barns, stables, and such like, were consumed with fire in the space of two hours' in Mildenhall. Stow's Annales, p. 1119."

22 July, 1568—22 July, 1569.

47.—a ballett intituled *the truble of the poore christians yat suffer for* Christes *sake.* iiij*d.* (Arber I, 381.)

48.—a ballett intituled *the golden apple.* iiij*d.* (Arber I, 381.)

"Probably upon the story of Atalanta—so called elsewhere."[2] A ballad "*no man could gett Atalanta by Runnyng*" was entered to James Roberts, 1569–1570.[3]

49.—*au ex*[*h*]*ortation whereby Englonde may knowe.* vj*d.* (Arber I, 384.)

50.—a ballett *taken out of the* 14 *chapter of saynte* Luke. iiij*d.* (Arber I, 384.)

51.—a ballett intituled *a Dialoge shewynge the husboundmans treasure.* iiij*d.* (Arber I, 386.)

52.—a ballett intituled *pedler and his packe.* iiij*d.* (Arber I, 386.)

(1) Extracts I, 165. (2) Extracts I, 184. (3) Arber I, 416.

22 July, 1569—22 July, 1570.

53.—*a Dysputation betweene lady* Jane *and Doctour* Fak[en]ham with other necessaryes [authorized] by my lorde of London. iiij*d.*

(Arber I, 406.)

A tract of sixteen leaves (A, B, in eight) similar to this, is in the Library of Lambeth Palace. Title as follows :—

AN EPISTLE OF
the Ladye Iane a righte vertuou
woman, To a learned man of
late falne from the
truth of Gods most holy
word, for fear of the
worlde.
Read it, to thy consolacion.

VVherunto is added the com
munication that she had
with master Feckenham
vpon her faith, and
belefe of the Sa
craments.

Also another Epistle whiche
she wrote to her sister, with
the words she spake vpon
the Scaffold befor she
suffered. Anno.
M.D.Liiii.

XVI. List B. 53.

54.—a ballett intituled *lenten stuffe*. iiij*d.* (Arber I, 407.)

"Thomas Nash, about thirty years afterwards, took 'Lenten Stuff' as the title of a prose tract in praise of Red-herrings."[1]

(1) Collier, Extracts I, 212.

55.—a ballett intituled *lenten pennaunce.* iiij*d.* (Arber I, 410.)

56.—a ballett intituled *ye paynter in his princ*[*e*]*ly fe*[*a*]*te.* iiij*d.* (Arber I, 407.)

57.—a ballett intituled *taken out of the* 13 chapter of saynte Luke. iiij*d.* (Arber I, 408.)

See No. 50, for a ballad taken out of the 14 chapter of St. Luke.

58.—a ballett intituled *of the kynges of Israell.* iiij*d.* (Arber I, 410.)

59.—a ballett intituled *the xj*th *and xij*th *chapters of ye ij*^{de} *boke of kynges.* iiij*d.* (Arber I, 415.)

22 July, 1570—22 July, 1571.

60.—a ballett *taken out of Jos*[*h*]*ua the x*th *Chapter.* iiij*d.* (Arber I, 436.)

61.—a ballett of *ye prayse of vertuous Dames*, etc. iiij*d.* (Arber I, 436.)

1569-1570. Thomas Colwell[1] entered "a ballett intituled a songe to the prayse of many vertuous women, etc., which Collier says may be the same as this entry. N. Breton's 'Praise of Vertuous Ladies,' which in title so nearly corresponds, could hardly have come out as early as this entry."[2] To Colwell's entry he adds this note:[3] "Nicholas Breton, an author who began to publish his collected poems in 1575, and who perhaps had put forth some separate pieces earlier, is the writer of 'The Praise of Vertuous Ladies, etc.' It was not printed, as far as we know, until 1606, but it is possible that some portion of it had appeared much earlier, as a broadside, though not so early as to make it likely that it was the production alluded to in this entry. At all events, it was a composition of a similar character, judging from the above title."

62.—a ballett Dyves *and* Lazerus. iiij*d.* (Arber I, 436.)

Collier notes[4]: "Founded, of course, on St. Luke, ch. xvi. It is very possible that the old drama of 'Dives and Lazarus,' mentioned in the MS. play of 'Sir Thomas More,' may be intended by the above entry (Shakespeare Society's edit. by Dyce, p. 56). The 'Dialogue of Dives' is spoken of as a sort of dramatic representation in R. Greene's 'Groatsworth of Wit,' 1592, and it was doubtless considerably older. Ralph Radcliffe is said to have composed a drama on the parable."

(1) Arber I, 407. (2) Transcripts II, 3. (3) Transcripts I, 207. (4) Extracts II, 3.

63.—a ballett of Adams *fearful fall.* iiij*d.* (Arber I, 436.)

1570–1571.

64.—*the beginning and endynge of all popery.* iiij*d.* (Arber I, 441.)

See Note to The End and Confession of John Felton, 1570. No. 14, List A.

65.—ballett: *the markett a fayre of all userers.* iiij*d.* (Arber I, 441.)

Hazlitt[1] gives this work: 'The market or fayre of Vsurers. A new pasquillus or dialogue against Vsurye translated from the high Almaigne, by William Harrys. .MD . L . Imprinted at London, by Stephen Myerdman. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum ad quinquennium. 8vo."

(1) H., p. 623.

PETER SHORT, PRINTER, AND HIS MARKS.

By SILVANUS P. THOMPSON, F.R.S.*

Read 17th May, 1897.

SOME fifteen years ago the writer was engaged upon the study—still continued in the intervals of more exacting professional work—of a famous book, the *De Magnete* of Dr. William Gilbert, the work prized by all electricians and lovers of science as not only embodying the first theory of the earth's magnetism, but as being the very foundation-stone of the science of electricity. Of the personality of its author—scholar, traveller, physician—the writer need now say nothing, beyond calling to mind the circumstance that he was chief Physician to Queen Elizabeth and President of the Royal College of Physicians. Gilbert or Gylberde, as he spelled his name in the only autograph known to exist, was also a landed proprietor and head of an ancient family in Essex. For thirty years, with much labour and expenditure of money, he pursued the scientific researches which were embodied in the folio volume given to the world in the year 1600.

* This paper is of the nature of a literary incursion. One who, whatever his experience in navigating other regions, has without compass or pilot, without sailing orders, with no charts save the Catalogues of the British Museum, ventured forth into the archipelago of Elizabethan literature must indeed be rash. If he does not meet with deserved shipwreck, he must at least apologize for his unwarranted adventure. S. P. T.

Upon the title-page (Fig. 1) of the *De Magnete* there stands a device of a serpent entwined around a T-shaped support, which is held upright by two clasped hands emerging from rounded masses of cloud. The device

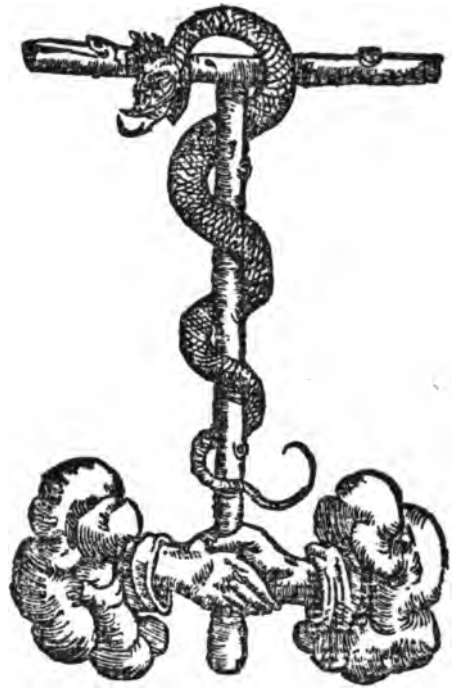


Fig. 1.
Serpent Mark on the Title-page of Gilbert's *De Magnete.* (Ed. 1600).

is executed in a rather coarse woodcut. It is not accompanied by any explanation. Higher up on the page stands the title :—

"GVILIELMI GIL-||BERTI COLCESTREN-||SIS, MEDICI LONDI-||NENSIS, || DE MAGNETE MAGNETI-||CISQVE CORPORIBVS, ET DE MAG-||no magnete

tellure; Phyſiologia noua, || *plurimis & argumentis, & expe*-||rimentis demonſtrata.||"

and below is the imprint: "LONDINI || EXCUDEBAT PETRUS SHORT ANNO || M D C."

What had this serpent to do with Gilbert's *De Magnete?* So far as I was aware none of the myths of the magnet were connected with the serpent. It could not be part of Gilbert's armorial bearings: for these were known, and the Gilbert shield with its leopard's heads, and the phœnix as crest, exactly as granted to him in 1577 by the Heralds' College, was imprinted on the back of the title-page. Could it have anything to do with Gilbert's office as President of the Royal College of Physicians? The caduceus, so often used as the emblem of medicine, required two serpents entwined around a wand; but here* was one serpent coiled upon a Tau. Lastly, could it be the printer's Mark? This seemed to be the most likely conjecture; but the name of Peter Short was unfamiliar in the names of London printers. He was not celebrated, like the Jaggard who printed the Shakespeare folios, or the Newbery of later date, nor as John Daye.

The suggestion that this device represented the brazen serpent elevated by Moses in the wilderness pointed to another explanation, for though not suggestive of a printer's business, it certainly was an appropriate symbol of the healing art of the physician. Yet no-where in anything written of or by Gilbert did there appear any allusion to the serpent.

The enquiry whether Peter Short was known to have used a Mark, indicated at first something quite different. There came into my hands a copy of Thomas Blundevile's *Art of Riding*, printed by Peter Short in 1597. Here was found Peter Short's Mark—a star—and the definite information that it was printed by Peter Short dwelling on Bread Street Hill, "at the signe of the Starre." The residence and the Mark agreed: the serpent had nothing to do with either. Further, as Gilbert himself

* In Wither's *Emblemes* the serpent twining about a tau is given as the symbol of Wisdom.

lived in Peter's Hill, the next of the narrow city lanes to Bread Street Hill (both crossing Knight Rider Street), the choice of so near a neighbour for his printer seemed appropriate. At the time of my enquiry further investigation as to books printed by Peter Short was impracticable. Nor did it occur to me to search the records of the Stationers' Company.

The catalogue of books printed in England before 1640, revealed the fact that Peter Short's activities had extended from 1590 to 1609, and that in the Museum were contained no fewer than fifty-five books printed by him. The whole of these were examined one by one; and a very interesting collection they proved to be. They included* an edition (the fifth) of Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*—otherwise known as Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*—Samuel Daniell's poems of *The Civile Wares*, a line-for-line translation by Marlowe of the first book of *Lucan*, an edition of Thomas Tusser's *Fiwe Hundred Pointes of Good Husbandrie*, a letter of Dr. John Dee (of crystal fame), Blundevile's *Art of Riding*, previously named, Sir Hugh Platt's *Jewell House of Art and Nature*, Morley's *Plaine Introduction to Musicke*—a notable tome—several political pamphlets, and sundry sermons preached at Paule's Cross, also a *Taymingeof a Shrowe*, dated 1596, resembling Shakespeare's Comedy. Several of these works gave Short's colophon with the star. They also showed that Peter Short had also used as a Mark an open Bible surrounded by a star or halo of rays of light and held by a hand emerging from a cloud. But to reward the search, three serpents turned up. The first of these was on the title-page of a quaint controversial theological pamphlet, called "William Alablaster's seven motiues removed and confuted by John Racster." At London. Printed by Peter Short for Andrew Wise, dwelling in Paules Church-yard, at the signe of the Angell, 1598. The book has a second title-page with same imprint at the foot, but running: "A Booke of the Seven Planets or Seven wandring motives, of

* Peter Short printed several other books. Amongst these were a Shakespeare quarto, The History of Henry the Fourth (1578), on the title-page of which is the star and Bible Mark (Fig. 7, *infra*), and *The Secrets* of Alexis of Piedmont (1595). Of this latter there is no copy in the British Museum.

William Alablasters wit, retrograded or removed by John Racster;" and on this title-page is Short's other Mark with an open book or Bible in the midst of a star. The serpent device is printed from the identical block used for *De Magnete.* The second serpent, identical also, was on the title of Marlowe's translation of the first book of *Lucan.*

The third serpent, however, was of greater interest. He made his appearance on the title-page of (Sir) Clement Edmunds' *Observations upon the five first books of Caesar's Commentaries*, a folio work also printed in 1600. He presented some notable variations from the *De Magnete* block. In that the serpent's head was towards the left, the tau depicted as of round rough timber, and the hands supporting the tau were clasped in one another. In the device on the title of Clement Edmunds the head of the serpent was to the right, the tau depicted as of squared timber, and the two hands instead of being clasped, grasp the stem of the tau one above the other. But most eloquent was the appearance, one on each side of the device, of the two initials "P.S." This settled the question beyond all doubt: the serpent was Peter Short's printer's Mark, and had nothing to do with Dr. Gilbert or the College of Physicians.

So far the quest had succeeded: but the end was not yet. If Peter Short lived "at the signe of the Starre," and used the star Mark in his colophons, why should he have used the serpent also?

Still hunting Gilbertiana, the writer was led to examine a number of early herbals mentioned in *De Magnete;* and amongst these a small Latin duodecimo *de Simplicium Medicamentorum Facultatibus*, by Matthiolus the commentator of Dioscorides, printed at Venice in 1569 by one Vincentius Valgrisius. On opening the volume my eye fell on a serpent on the title-page. Except that the cross-bar of the tau was rectangular, the device, hands, serpent and all was exactly like that used in *De Magnete*, but smaller. But on either side appeared the letters "VIN CENT," showing that this was the Mark used by Vincentius. Enquiry showed other books printed by Vincentius Valgrisius, ranging from 1545 (or earlier)

to 1587. Amongst these were two fine quarto editions of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, one of 1556 the other of 1587, both having an elaborate engraved title, with the serpent-on-the-tau at the foot. The later edition has a colophon with the serpent (reversed) and the letters "VIN CENT"

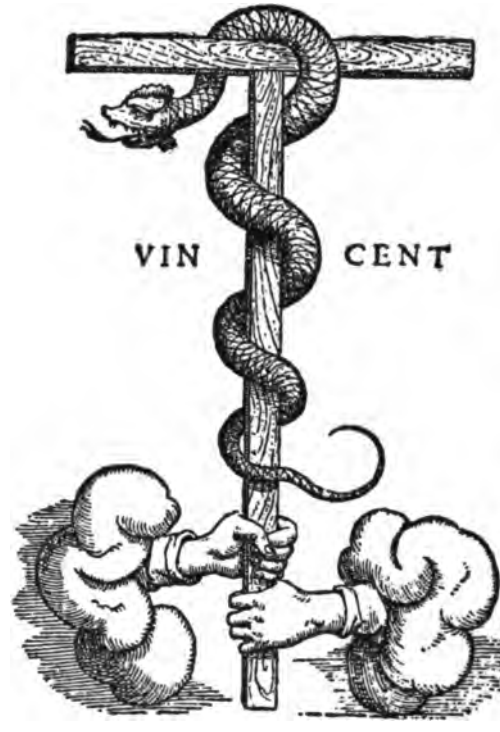


Fig. 2.
Vincentius's Mark from Ariosto's Orlando Furioso. Ed. 1556.

at the sides; but while the title-page names Felice Valgrisi, the colophon says "appresso Valerio Bonelli MDLXXXVII." Again there is a mystery; for the serpent was not the sign of Vincentius's shop, which is described as "dal segno d'Erasmo."

Any study of printers' Marks, however slight, will show that whenever any of the early printers had succeeded in establishing a reputation, his Mark at once became the object if not of direct piracy at least of very close imitation. Thus, for example, the Aldine anchor and dolphin with its motto *Festina lente*—itself derived, if report speaks truly, from a silver medal of Vespasian presented to Aldus by Cardinal Bembo—was appropriated by Newbery and appears on the title of Camden's *Britannia*. It was also appropriated by Tardif, of Lyon, who however changed the motto to *Festina tarde:* and by Channey, of Lyon, who simply set his name Jehan de Channey on either side. Brillard, of Bourges, made the dolphin bite the shaft of the anchor; Vatel, of Paris, twined the dolphin around three lilies instead of an anchor. Rose, of Lyon, imitated the Mark with a serpent twining around a rose; Perrin, of Toulouse, adopted a swan with its neck twisted around the shaft of a cross; and Novesianus, of Cologne, a dolphin twining round an arrow. Jean Crespin, of Geneva, 1550 to 1571, used an anchor-serpent Mark, the serpent twining, in imitation of the dolphin, around the shaft of the anchor. He sometimes added the words *Anchora sacra*, and sometimes the initials J. C. on either side. Eustace Vignon, of Geneva, (1575–1610), and Peter Aubert of the same city (1625–1633) used the same device, as also, about 1641–1650, Idzard Albert and Jon Arcer, of Frankfurt. Bassandyne, a Scottish printer, used the same device with T. B. instead of J. C. as side initials.

Similarly the Froben Mark led to imitations. Rouille, of Lyon, used an eagle on a ball between two intertwined serpents; while Köpfler, of Strassburg, substituted a cockatoo (surrounded by a glory) sitting atop of two inverted and intertwined serpents.

What wonder then that if once a single serpent twining upon a tau should make itself famous as the Mark of some distinguished early printer, serpents twining upon taus should multiply in many cities?

The brazen serpent—for such it undoubtedly represents—was in simultaneous use about 1543 in Paris,* in Venice, and in London. Priority

* Martinus Juvenis of Paris, used a device exactly like Neobar's. *See* Petri Martinii Navarri, Libri Duo. Parisiis Apud Martinum Juvenem: via S. Io. Lateranensis, ad insigne Serpentis. MDLXXXIIII.

in date is doubtful, but it seems to belong to Conrad Neobar of Paris, who began to print about 1537. In the British Museum is a small volume (a copy of which I first saw in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, when hunting for Gilbertiana), the *Physiognomonica* of Adamantius the Sophist, which is rich in brazen serpents: I counted eight, in two sizes, the larger being used for colophons, the smaller for title-pages. The date of this work is 1540.

Fig. 3.
Serpent-mark of Conrad Neobar, from the *Physiognomonica* of Adamantius.

I also found a brazen serpent in a copy of Philipp Melancthon's *Initia Doctrinæ Physicæ;* a work which I consulted, having a curiosity to see what that learned man had to say about the magnet. As a matter of fact, he had nothing to say beyond repeating the old fable that the loadstone loses its power if it touches garlic, but can be restored by being dipped in the blood of a he-goat. But, sure enough, on the title-page of this work, printed in 1575 by Hans Lufft of Wittemberg, there stood a brazen serpent, this time borne armorially upon a shield, and without any supporting hands. Vincentius Valgrisius was, as we have seen, earlier in using the same device in Venice,

In England the brazen serpent was first used in 1542 by Reginald Wolfe.

Reginald or Reynold Wolfe was, it is conjectured, of foreign extraction. Possibly he borrowed the serpent Mark with the supporting hand-in-hand from Conrad Neobar: but of this there is no evidence. What is certain is that we find him in 1543 established as a master printer "at the signe of the Brasen Serpent" in "Paules Churcheyard." Before the learned Dibdin had disclosed his history to me, I had, however, already gleaned the one fact I wanted; for there had come into my possession a quarto of 1550—Cranmer's *Defence of the true and Catholike doctrine of the Sacrament*, with Reginald Wolfe's imprint (a copy of the more interest in that it once belonged to Hearne, the antiquary). This was sent me, simply because of its colophon, by a friendly bookseller, who knew I was serpent hunting. With intense interest, I noticed that the serpent in the last page (Fig. 4) was printed from the identical wood-block used fifty years later by Peter Short for the *De Magnete*. Every line, down to the small accidental notch in the under side of the serpent's first coil, was the same. There could be no doubt that in some way Reginald Wolfe's block, engraved to suit his shop sign of the brazen serpent, had descended to Peter Short.

It only remained then to track the descent by a research into the pedigree, which thanks to the records of Stationers' Hall, and to the works of antiquary Ames and dry-as-dust Dibdin, was an easy matter. But most of all was I helped by another lucky find. A chance remark in one of the works consulted that a certain Mark might be found in Bagford's collection of Title-pages in the British Museum, sent me enquiring what this Bagford collection might be. It appears that last century—when old books were cheap—one John Bagford, a bookseller, made a collection of title-pages, working the most ruthless havoc amongst the odd volumes that passed through his hands. These title-pages, with colophons and miscellaneous wood-cuts, he carefully cut round with scissors and laid down, in chronological order, in nine enormous albums, now in the Museum. It is estimated

that the wretch must have thus mutilated or destroyed no fewer than 20,000 volumes in making this collection, which, beginning with a few scraps of fifteenth century books (including one Wynkyn de Worde, and several Pynsons), consists mainly of works printed between the years 1520 and 1730.

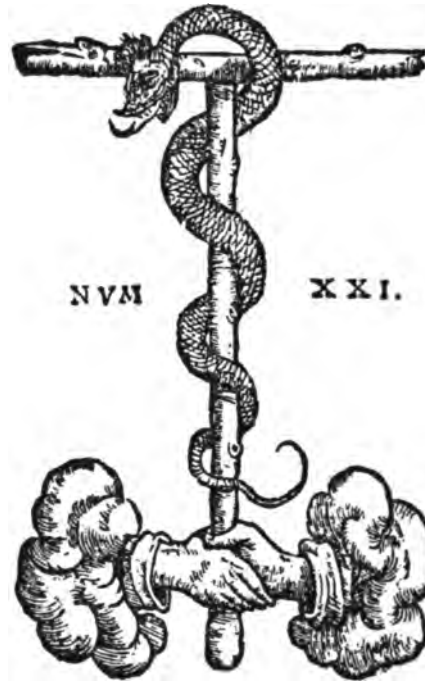


Fig. 4.

Reginald Wolfe's larger serpent Mark. From Archbishop Cranmer's *Defence of the true and Catholike doctrine of the Sacrament.*

Scandalous as is the circumstance that such a collection could be made, the collection itself is simply invaluable as a key to any enquiry as to the types and Marks used by successive generations of printers.

To cut short a long story, the genealogy of the brazen serpent Mark is as follows:—

Reginald Wolfe appears to have been no ordinary man. Perhaps his foreign descent—from a Strasburg family—may account for his familiarity with foreign tongues. He was an intimate friend of Leland the antiquary, and later of Stowe. The first book Wolfe printed (anophidian, however) was a tract of Leland's. Stowe narrates how, in 1549, Wolfe, at his own expense, removed a thousand cartloads of bones from the charnel house of St. Paul's to be buried in Finsbury Fields. For twenty-five years he busied himself in collecting material for a universal cosmography, the British and Irish portions of which were (as Holinshed himself tells in his dedication) completed in Holinshed's *Chronicles.* Stowe had himself intended to publish Wolfe's *Chronicle*, and left all the MS. in order for the press. Wolfe early prospered in business and built his house in "Paule's Churchyarde" on the site of a suppressed chapel: he purchased several leases of adjacent property from the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's. He published the works of Cranmer the Archbishop, and was the first who had a patent from the Crown (April 1547) entitling him to print in Greek, Latin and Hebrew. During the reign of Queen Mary he stopped printing, and busied himself with his *Chronicle.* He was an original Member of the Stationers' Company, was Master when Queen Elizabeth, in 1558, confirmed the Charter of the Company, and again occupied the Master's chair in the years 1564, 1567, and 1572. Like other printers of the time he adopted a sign—that of the brazen serpent. His first printer's Mark, which appears in two sizes, was the tree of Charity, an apple tree from which the apples are being knocked down by boys. Later, he adopted the brazen serpent for his Mark, and had blocks cut in two sizes—the larger with head to the left, being that which appears in the Cranmer volumes,* having NVM XXI.

* A DEFENCE ‖ of the true and ca-‖tholike doctrine of the Sacra‖ment of the body and bloud ‖ of our Saviour ..... Made by the most Reuerende ‖ father in GOD ‖ THOMAS ARCHEBYSHOP ‖ of Canterbury, Primate of all ‖ ENGLANDE ‖ and Metropolitaine ‖ ..... [*Colophon:*] Imprynted at London in Paules ‖ Churcheyard, at the signe of the Bra‖sen serpent, by Reynold Wolfe. ‖ .... ‖ ANNO DOMINI. M.D.L.‖

engraved on the block at the sides; the smaller (Fig. 5) having the head to the right, and the letters "R. W." one on each side.* He died in 1573, leaving to his wife Joan by will (witnessed by Holinshed) the chapel house. He was buried at St. Faith's Church. His daughter married John Harison (the elder), who also was a master printer.

Fig. 5.

Reginald Wolfe's smaller serpent Mark, from Myles Coverdale's *New Testament* of 1549.

Business at the sign of the brazen serpent was continued by Joan Wolfe, who, however, printed but three books, one of which † has the smaller

* The first date at which this smaller mark has been found is in 1569, in a black-letter edition of Myles Coverdale's New Testament. The colophon of this book has the smaller serpent mark, with the letters "NVM.—XXI." at either side of it, followed by this imprint:—"‖ imprinted in London, at the signe of the Brasen ‖ Serpent in Paules Churchyarde by ‖ Reynold Wolfe ‖ ANNO. 1549, ‖ in June.‖"

† The Institvtion of ‖ Christian Religion, ‖ VVritten in Latine by M. Iohn Calvine, ‖ and translated into Englishe according to ‖ the authors last edition, by ‖ Thomas Norton. ‖ . . . . . ‖ At London ‖ Printed by the widowe of ‖ Reginalde Wolffe. ‖ Anno Domini, 1574. ‖

serpent (Fig. 6) on the title, with the initials "R. W." on either side. At her death in 1594, she left to her son Robert Wolfe, the chapel house, and expressly named amongst her other bequests to him the brazen serpent.

Robert Wolfe does not seem to have taken to the printing business, which indeed, after Reginald Wolfe's death appears to have been principally carried on by two of his former apprentices Henry Bynneman and John

NVM. XXI.

Fig. 6. Smaller serpent Mark of Reginald Wolfe as used by Joan Wolfe, in 1574 edition of Calvin's *Institutes*.

Sheppard. The latter printed only in the years of 1576–1577. Bynneman who completed his apprenticeship in 1566 was admitted to the livery of the Stationers' Company in 1578. He appears to have previously worked for William Rastell who had the sign of the mermaid, a Mark which reappears in several of Bynneman's books. Subsequently he adopted the brazen serpent, using the same blocks in two sizes which Reginald Wolfe had produced. He also had a patent as royal printer for works in Greek and Latin. In 1577 he printed one of Harvey's *Orations*,* and also Harvey's

* Gabrielis Harveii, Ciceronianus vel ‖ Oratio post reditum. ‖ Londini ‖ Ex officina Typographia ‖ Henrici Binneman ‖ Anno M.D.Lxxvii.‖ (This work, of 67 pages, has on the last page the large serpent mark and the colophon :—) "¶ Excudebat Londini, Henricus ‖ Bynneman Typographus, Anno ‖ MD LXXVII ‖ Mense Junio.‖"

Musarum Lachrymæ,* in both of which works both serpent Marks appear, the smaller size on the title, the larger in the colophon. He printed works of Frobisher, and of Sir Thomas More, and the *Art of Navigation* of Martinus Cortez. His 1581 edition of Aristotle's *Ethica* has the small serpent Mark. He undoubtedly continued the printing of Holinshed's Chronicle. In 1578, in partnership with Rafe Newberie he produced Beza's book, *An evident display of Popish Practices or Patched Paganisme*, a work the uncharitableness of which is almost atoned for by its good printing. The same partners in 1582 printed (with the large serpent Mark) Lambard's *Eirenarcha, or the office of the Justices of the Peace.*† In 1583 he printed a Latin-Greek-English Dictionary‡ which has on its title-page the large serpent between the numbers 15, 83. Dying in the same year, he appointed as his assigns the Rafe Newbery who had worked with him, and Henry Denham, another of the little knot of printers who clustered around the centre of old London.

Henry Denham, who had joined the livery of the Stationers' Company in 1572, became in 1580 the successor of W. Seres, the whilom partner of John Daye; and from Seres he derived the Mark of the white

* Gabrielis ‖ Harveii Valdi‖natis; Smithus; vel ‖ musarum lachrymae. ‖ Londini ‖ Ex officina typographica ‖ Henrici Binnemani ‖ Anno M D LXXVIII.‖ (This is a monody on Sir Thomas Smith, Secretary to the Queen. As colophon at end of sheet L, it has the large serpent mark with the words :—)"Excudebat Londini, Henricus ‖ Bynnemanus Typographus, Anno ‖ M.D.LXXVIII ‖ Calendis Januariis: rogatu Aulici ‖ cujusdam generosi.‖"

† Eirenarcha: ‖ or of ‖ The office of the ‖ Iustices of Peace, in ‖ two Bookes: ‖ . . . . . By William Lambard ‖ of Lincolnes Inne Gent. ‖ . . . . . At London: ‖ Imprinted by Ra. Newbery, and ‖ H. Bynneman, by the ass. of ‖ R. Tot. and Chr. Bar. ‖ Anno Dom. ‖ 1582.‖

The same printers' names appear together in 1576, in *An auncient Historie* [Appian's] *and exquisite Chronicle of the Romaines warres;* which work also has the large serpent mark on the final page (354).

‡ Verborum Latinorum cum Graecis Anglicisque conjunctorum locupletissimi Commentarii. Londini. In aedibus Henrici Bynnemani, per assignationem Richardi Huttoni. Cum Privilegio Regiae Maiestatis. [1583.]

bear, which, however, he abandoned in favour of the Starre, which sign he set up in Paternoster Row. He printed editions of Erasmus and of Melancthon, of Turbervile's *Epigrams*, of *The Perfite Hop Garden*, of Blundevile's *Four Chiefest Offices belonging to Horsemanship* (1580), of Thomas Tusser's *Five Hundred Points of Husbandry*, and the third volume of Holinshed's *Chronicles*. Later he removed to Aldersgate Street, for we find him in 1585 publishing the *Seven Sobs*, at the Starre in Aldersgate Street. His first Mark of the Starre in 1566 had simply a seven-point star enclosed in a circular border with the motto *Os homini sublime dedit*. Later he enclosed the star and motto in a cartouche with the initials H.D. (*See* Fig. 9, page 126). He died in 1591. He was several times fined by the Stationers' Company for printing disorderly.

During these years we find three other names of printers, John Harison (1573–1609), the same who married Reginald Wolfe's daughter, John Windet (1585), and Andrew Maunsell (1575–1596), printing or publishing at the sign of the Brazen Serpent. They appear, as also G. Bishop, to have been accommodated in the extensive chapel house in St. Paul's Churchyard while H. Bynneman was in possession: but though this place is named in their imprint, none of them save Bynneman and Sheppard appears to have used the brazen serpent as his Mark.

On March 1st, 158$\frac{8}{9}$, Peter Short took out his redemption as a member of the Stationers' Company, and paid six shillings. The entry is as follows:—"Primo die marcij. Peter Short Sworne and admitted A freman of this company per Redempcione[m] vj*s*."

In July, 1591, occurs the first register of work entered by him at Stationers' Hall. This was *The poore man's pater noster* . . . by Thomas Tymne, and was entered in the names of Short and his partner Richard Yardley. In the next year they entered for their registration *the ffourthe booke of the Imitacon of Christe*. For each register the fee of sixpence was paid by them. Yardley's name disappears after 1593.

On May 2nd, 1594, Short entered a book entitled: *A plesant Conceyted historie called 'the Tayminge of a Shrowe.'* Of this work, a small thin octavo, I know nothing save that it is a comedy closely suggestive of the later comedy of Shakespeare. The heroine is called Kate or Katherine: but her strenuous lover is called Ferando instead of Petruchio, and her father's name is Alfonso.

In 1595, Short printed for Ponsonby a very beautiful little volume, *The Tragedie of Antonie. Doone into English by the Countesse of Pembroke.* There is a copy of this in the British Museum.

The same year Peter Short entered for copy Sir Hugh Platt's *Jewell House of Art and Nature*, and a smaller Latin work by the same author.

Under the date July 1st, 1598, ten years after his admission to the Company, we find the entry on the register:—"Peter Shorte sworne and admitted into the Lyverye of this Compagnye ij$^{d.}$" At the same date there are several similar entries of admission, including one of Humfrey Lownes.

That Peter Short succeeded to H. Denham's business is clear from his having not only adopted the sign of the Starre, but from his use of the actual block with the H.D. initials in the cartouche. The following entry appears in the records of the Stationers' Company:—

"At a court holden at Stationers' Hall, 7 April 1595, Y^{t} is agreed that P. Short shall finish the impression of the B. of Martyrs from the place where Mr. Denham left—For which he is to have after the rate of xvij*s*, vj*d*. for a booke,—for paper and printinge—The paper shall be rated at vij*s*. the ream."

This was the fifth edition of Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* already mentioned.

Peter Short set up the signe of the Starre in Bread Street Hill, just out of St. Paul's Churchyard, and had cut a new Mark, wherein the Starre is expanded so as to surround a book (or Bible perhaps) beneath a laurel

wreath with a pair of open wings, held by a hand issuing from the clouds. The whole (Fig. 7) is enclosed in a compartment or cartouche with the motto: *Et usque ad nubes veritas tua.* Below the cartouche are the initials P. S. The example given is from the second title-page of John Racster's *William Alablaster's Seven Motiues refuted*, printed by Peter Short in 1598. Besides these two Marks—Denham's star and his own—he used, as we have seen, the brazen serpent. Wolfe's own blocks in

Fig. 7.
Mark of Peter Short, from Racster's *William Alablaster's Seven Motiues refuted*, 1598.

two sizes (to the smaller of which he on one occasion at least added the side initials P. S.), he doubtless obtained from Denham who had been, as stated above, one of Bynneman's assigns. There is no evidence that Short used the serpent Mark before 1597.

Two other Marks appear, once each, in books printed by Peter Short. One of these, which may be a mere ornament and not a true Mark, is a boar's head surmounting a coronet, surrounded by the motto *Auspicante Deo*, and set in a smaller cartouche. This appears on the title of an odd pamphlet of ten pages by Sir Hugh Platt, entitled: "A || discoverie of cer||tain Engliſh wants, which are roy-||ally ſupplyed in this Treatiſe || *by* H. PLATT *of Lincolnes* || Inne Esquier. || . . . . || Printed at London by || P. S. for William Ponſonby. || 1595. ||"

In one work, printed by Short for N. Ling, he inserted Ling's Mark, a honeysuckle in a square ornamental border with emblematic figures. This is found on the title-page of Michael Drayton's book* of Poems entitled *England's Heroicall Epistles.* The first Epistle in this collection is supposed to be from Fair Rosamond to King Henry II; the second is the King's reply. Other Epistles are from Edward the Black Prince to Alice, Countess of Salisbury, and her reply to him. The same Mark appears on the title-page of R. Allot's *England's Parnassus*, a small quarto of 1600, which contain the earliest selection of passages from Shakespeare. It is described as "imprinted at London for N. L., W. B. and T. H."

There are also in existence several books printed by Short with wood-engraved borders to the titles, having the letters P. S. let in, apparently in place of some prior initials. One of these, a cartouche with birds at the top, four medallions of queens at the sides and a skeleton seated at the bottom, occurs several times. In one case ("Foure Sermons" by H. Smith) the Starre and Bible Mark is set in the middle of this frame. Another wood-block title border† has at the top the Royal Arms of England and France quartered, at the sides four biblical medallions, at the foot an angel holding a seven-branched candlestick and a book. On either side are inserted the letters P. S.; and below again two pendent shields, one bearing the arms of the City of London, the other those of the Stationers' Company.

Short appears to have become pretty well-known as a printer. He printed a number of musical books, amongst them a handsome folio, entered October, 1596, to himself and W. Hoskins, entitled *A Playne and Easie Introduction to Musicke*, by Thomas Morley, gentleman of her Maiesties Chappell.

* Englands ‖ Heroicall ‖ Episles. ‖ Newly enlarged, ‖ By Michaell Drayton ‖ . . . . ‖ At London, ‖ Printed by P. S. for N. Ling, and are to be ‖ sold at his shop at the West doore of ‖ Poules 1598. ‖

† Sermons of Maister Henrie Smith . . . . . ‖ At London ‖ Printed by Peter Short for Thomas ‖ Man, dwelling in Pater Noster row, at ‖ the signe of the Tal‖bot. 1594.‖

In June, 1598, there was entered for copy in the names of Symon Waterson, Peter Short, and Thomas Adams, a book entitled "'The woorkes of fflave Joseph sonne of Matthias,' to be translated out of French into Englishe, and to be their copie to printe, bringinge better and sufficient aucthoryty for y^t first/ and before they print y^t./" *

The next date brings Peter Short's name before us in a different light. In June, 1599, appeared a proclamation headed "4 Regin[a]e Elizabeth," and preceded by a list of condemned works, and by a set of 'commandments,' in which the Stationers' Company, and in particular fourteen printers who are explicitly named, are admonished of the issue of the same. This proclamation is signed by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London. The condemned books include Hall's *Virgidemiarium or biting satyres*, Ling's *Epigrams*, and *The Fifteen joys of Marriage.* The commandments are brief and include the following:—

"That noe Satyres or Epigrams be printed hereafter.

"That noe English historyes be printed excepte they bee allowed by some of her maiesties privi Counsell.

"That no playes be printed excepte they bee allowed by suche as haue aucthorytie.

"That all Nasshes bookes and Doctor Harveys bookes be taken wheresoeuer they maye be found and that none of theire bookes bee euer printed hereafter.

"Such bookes as can be found or are allready taken of the Argumentes aforesaid or any of the bookes aboue expressed lett them bee presentlye broughte to the Bishop of London to be burnte."

* This volume, which is not mentioned in Bullen's Catalogue, was published in 1602. Its title runs ‖ The ‖ Famous ‖ and memorable ‖ works of Iosephus, a ‖ man of much honour and ‖ learning among the ‖ Iewes. ‖ Faithfully translated out of the Latin, and French, by ‖ Tho. Lodge Doctor in Physicke. ‖ . . . . [Short's combination Mark (Fig. 8)] ‖ Printed at the charges of G. Bishop, S. Waterson, ‖ P. Short, and Tho. Adams. ‖ 1602. ‖ fol. 812 p. [Colophon] [Denham's Star Mark] ‖ Printed at London by Peter Short, dwelling on ‖ Bred-street hill at the signe of the Starre. ‖ 1602. ‖

The register of Stationers' Hall, in which this proclamation is recorded adds :—

"Theis bookes presently therevppon were burnte in the hall."

The Archbishop was none other than the celebrated John Whitgift, and the Bishop, Richard Bancroft, the founder of the Bancroft School. Amongst the fourteen printers specially cited appears the name of "Peeter Shorte," along with Adam Islip (who had previously been fined by the Company for "printing disorderly"), Creed and Allde. It does not appear for what cause Short had been singled out.

This proclamation seems to have been quite ineffective, for there exists a duodecimo edition of Hall's *Virgidemiarium* of which the first three "Bookes of Toothlesse Satyres" bear the imprint "John Harison for Robert Dexter, 1602," while the three last "bookes" of the six, bound up with them, are printed by "R. Dexter at the Brazen Serpent in Paules Church Yard, 1599."

The next entry is of different interest. It runs thus:—"vij Decembris [1599] peter Short. Entred for his copie vnder the handes of the wardens A booke Called GULIELMI GILBERTI *De Magnete* . . . . vj*d*." This is the ever-famous book on the magnet which alone suffices to make its printer immortal.

The next entry touching master Peter is on the 7th of February, {1599/1600. He entered for copy a work "Obseruations vpon the ffyve first bookes of C[a]esars Commentaryes: settinge forthe the Practise of the Art militarie in the tyme of the Romayne Empyre." This was by Clement Edmunds (afterwards Sir Clement) who was Recorder of the City. In July, 1601, we find another record relating to the same.

"Master ponsonby Entred for his copie in full Court holden this day by assignment from peter Short a booke called *observations vppon the first ffyve bookes of* C[A]ESAR'S *commentaryes settinge forth the practise of the Art military in the tyme of the Romaine Emperors.*"

All through 1601 and 1602 Peter Short appears to have been busy, as there are entered for copy in the registers, numerous books, songs, sermons, works on agriculture, and poems. On one festive occasion he was chosen to represent his Company for we find:—

"29 Octobris [1601]. 43 Regin[a]e

"This yere master dawson
master Waterson } went to my Lord maiours feast."
master Short

On another occasion he was called upon to pay a fine:—

"12 April [1602]. Receaved of Master Short for kepinge a prentise vnrepresented aboue th[e] appointed tyme . . . . xij*d*."

The last entry on the register relating to him is this:—

"ult Decembris [1602] Master Short. Entred for his Copie . . . . a booke called *A newe Cheape and Delicate fyer of Cole baules wherein Sea Cole is by the mixeture of other Combustable bodies bothe Swetned and multiplyed.*"

Of Peter Short's life little is known. It is recorded to his honour in the Registers of the Stationers' Company that he gave to the use of the poor of the Company forty shillings a year, arising out of a leasehold house which he held from Bartholomew's Hospital. He seems to have died quite young, in 1603. His principal works have already been enumerated. His widow appears to have carried on his business for a little time, for at least three books* were printed in the years 1603 and 1604, by E. Short.

* Thayre (Thomas). *A* ‖ *Treatise* ‖ *of the Pesti-*‖*lence:* ‖ etc. [Mark of the Bible and Star.] Imprinted at London by *E. Short,* ‖ *dwelling at the signe of the Starre on bred-*‖*streete hill.* 1603. ‖ 4to. B.L.

Dee (Dr. John). ‖ *A letter nine yeres since written and first published.* [Colophon:] 1603. [Denham's Star mark.] ‖ *At London* ‖ Printed by E. Short, ‖ *dwel-*‖*ling on Bred-streete hill neere to the* ‖ *end* of old *Fish-streete, at the* ‖ *Signe of the Starre.* ‖ 1603. 4to.

Sutton (Christopher). *Disce Vi-*‖*vere.* ‖ *Learne to live.* ‖ . . . Printed by *E. Short, for Cuthbert Burby. London.* [1604?] 12mo. B.L.

In 1604 she was re-married to Humphrey Lownes, son of a country gentleman, who continued to use the same types and Marks that Peter Short had used, and resided in the same house on Bread Street Hill. Peter Short's own star, as well as Denham's, and the two brazen serpents of Wolfe, are freely employed by him from 1604 to 1618, though books are found from 1592 to 1630, with the initials of H.L. as printer. These works include editions of Drayton, Du Bartas, Blundevile, Bishop Jewell, Fracastorio, Sir Hugh Platt, Thomas Morley (*Art of Musicke*), George Wither (*Abuses Stript*, 1615), and Edmund Spenser. One single example of his press splendidly illustrates the descent of these various Marks. The collected edition of Spenser's *Faerie Queen*, with his other poems—the first collected edition—of date 1611, presents quite a collection of typographical objects. The engraved rustic border to the title was cut in 1593 for Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*—to which it is appropriate. The title of the second part, on p. 187 (Fig. 8), is an elaborate combination of all Peter Short's Marks. It had been used as first title of the 1609 edition of the *Faerie Queen* alone. In the central oval compartment is the brazen serpent supported by the hands—not clasped—while for the first time the bottom of the "T" is fashioned as an anchor, as Jean Crespin, of Geneva, had fashioned it in 1560. On the right is Denham's Starre with his motto: on the left, Peter Short's variety of the same, with the book. Below it are the arms of the Stationers' Company and Peter Short's "monogram," the latter apparently imitated from that of Richard Jugge. It is not known to occur elsewhere. I conjecture that this Mark was, in reality, made for Peter Short before his death,* though I cannot find that he himself actually used it. On p. 364, as a colophon to the *Faerie Queen* is Denham's Starre

* [Note added November, 1897.] This conjecture is confirmed by my finding in the British Museum the folio Josephus of 1602, which has this Mark on its title, and the statement in the Colophon that it was printed by Peter Short. The ornaments throughout this book are largely the same as those used by Short in his edition of Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*, and in Gilbert's *De Magnete*. The large serpent Mark appears on p. 555, and Denham's star Mark in the Colophon. Another edition printed in 1609, by Humfrey Lownes, has the same Marks, initials, and ornaments throughout. S.P.T.

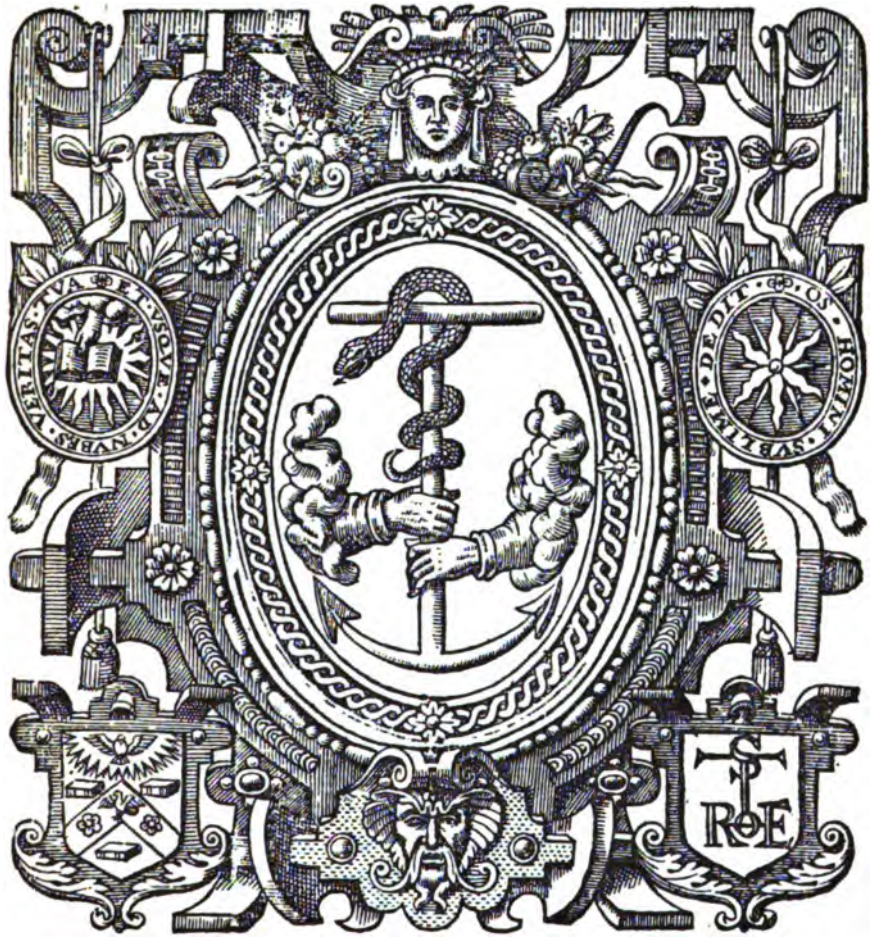


Fig. 8.

Combination of Peter Short's Marks. From p. 187 of the 1611 edition of Spenser's *Faerie Queen.*

(Fig. 9) with "H. D." in the cartouche. Later, at signature C 4, is Bynneman's Mark of the Mermaid as title to the *Amoretti*. On D 7 we suddenly come on Wolfe's larger brazen serpent on the title of the

Fig. 9.

Henry Denham's star Mark. From p. 364 of the 1611 edition of Spenser's *Faerie Queen*.

Epithalamion, and, three pages further on, the arms of the Stationers Company on the title of the *Foure Hymnes*. Several of these Marks recur in the volume.

Humphrey Lownes also used other Marks. In 1614, he employed* the oval central compartment of the Peter Short combination. In 1616, we find him using the lamb—one of the Stationers' Company's emblems. The former of these descended in 1629 to John Haviland, who printed the *New Atlantis*, and various other works, several of which bear this Mark, surrounded by a border bearing two inscriptions. Below is *Anchora fidei;* above is the text *Sic elevabitur filius hominis.*

Humphrey Lownes, though in 1617 he was Upper Warden, was not regarded with favour by the Stationers' Company. In the list of successors in the registers occurs the following entry, made apparently about 1635.

"1603 Hump[h]rey Lowndes || married Shortes widdowe || holds ye printing house || though uncapable.||

1631 Robert Yo[u]ng gets in || partner with Lownes.||

1635 Robert Yo[u]ng after || Lowndes death holds || the house without any || admittance (hath 4 presses)."

Another entry in 1635 is:—"Master Roberte Young succeeded his partner Master Lownes about 6 yeers since . . . never admitted neither was his partner capable."

Robert Young printed works for a dozen years. Amongst them were editions of Du Bartas† (with Elstracke's engraved title) of Sir Hugh Platt, and of Thomas à Kempis. No work of his is known to contain the serpent Mark.

The latest date at which I have been able to trace Wolfe's serpent block is 1617, when it was in Humphrey Lownes' hands; while the later block with anchor flukes can be traced to about 1639. On the Continent,

* An Holy || Panegyrick || by I.H. (D.D.). || . . . . . || at London || Printed by Humfrey Lownes, for Samuel || Macham 1614. ||

† Humphrey Lownes had already brought out an edition, in 1621, with this title.

Crespin's successors continued to use the same device, and in France, where Jean Bien-né had employed a serpent-anchor Mark from 1566–1588. There were also some later examples.

In England, Adam Islip, about 1604, imitated the Mark with a winged dragon twining round a stick, borne by two hands emerging from clouds.

The only serpent Mark I have found in the eighteenth century is German, a wretched device of one Theophilus Georgi of Leipzig (1711), with the serpent on its tau, tortured into the semblance of the initials "T. G."

The English serpent Marks disappeared half a century before. The Great Fire of London, which broke up all the traditions of English printing, burned up the old wood-blocks.

PORTRAITS IN BOOKS.

By HENRY B. WHEATLEY, F.S.A.

Abstract of a Paper read June 28th.

SOME of my hearers will probably think that this title is too comprehensive, and that so large a subject requires several papers to be devoted to its proper treatment. I wish, however, this evening, to restrict your attention to British portraits, and to those which are to be found in books published by their authors, or by men who have known them. By this system of exhaustion, I exclude collections of portraits, and portraits included in books published by those who had no personal knowledge of the person delineated.

These contemporary portraits are of great value and interest, and in many cases they are the only representations of the persons that we possess. We may also be pretty confident that they are authentic, as they come to us with such excellent credentials. Perhaps the most valuable of these portraits are those of little known persons, whose likenesses would be entirely lost to us if they had not been preserved in books.

The collections of portraits, such as Holland's Baziliologia (1618), and Heroologia Anglica (1620), Houbraken's Heads, and Lodge's Portraits are of great value, but they all contain certain portraits which are mis-named or spurious, thus, Beza's *Icones* (1580) and Goulart's French edition of the plates published in the following year, contain portraits of John Knox, which are quite untrustworthy, as is explained by Carlyle in his interesting

article on the portraits of Knox. Untrustworthy portraits are not confined to collections, for they sometimes turn up in places where we are induced to lay aside our scepticism, and are therefore more likely to be deceived. Thus it is well known that there is no authentic portrait of Caxton, and that the received portrait was copied from an Italian poet and altered by Bagford. Again, as there was no portrait of the Rev. Francis Blomefield, one of Flamsteed the Astronomer Royal, who was very much like him, was reproduced as his and placed before his *History of Norfolk.* The latter case is one which shows that we cannot always implicitly trust the contemporaries of a man if they are intent on forgery. There is a sad want of literary honesty in repeating portraits which are known to be false, and yet, portraits of Caxton and other such forgeries are constantly being repeated. All honour, therefore, to Mr. Blades, who sent out his noble work on Caxton without a portrait.

A good example of the value of an author's portrait in a book may be seen in *The Marrow of Ecclesiastical Historie contained in the Lives of the Fathers*, by Samuel Clark, Pastor of Bennet Fink (1650). The portrait of the author opposite the title-page is evidently a good likeness, and certainly trustworthy, while the other portraits in the book are of little value, as they have been collected from various sources.

In the title of this paper, "the Books" referred to are chiefly printed books, but a passing allusion must be made to Manuscript books which in some instances contain excellent portraits. Very often the portraits are merely conventional representations of the persons and are of no authority, but there are a few which bear the marks of authenticity upon them. In an Harleian Manuscript (4866) in the British Museum, is preserved the best and in fact the only real portrait of Chaucer. In another Manuscript is a portrait of Matthew Paris, kneeling in adoration before the Virgin and Child (14. C. VII); and in a Latin Lectionary of the early part of the fifteenth century is an excellent portrait of John, Lord Lovel, of Tichmersh (who died in 1408), with an equally good one of Siferwas, the

artist and scribe, handing a book to his patron. This fine miniature is exhibited in a case in the Grenville Library (British Museum).*

The earliest portraits in printed books are wood-cuts, such as that of John Skelton on the title-page of *A ryght delectable tratyse*, 1523, of John Heywood in *The Spider and the Flie* (1556), and of W. Bullein in *The Governement of Helthe* (1558–9). One of the earliest copper plate portraits is that of Archbishop Matthew Parker, by R. Hogenberg, prefixed to some few copies of the *De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ* (1572).

Sometimes the portrait is included in the engraved title of a book, and sometimes in the frontispiece.

As all conversant with English literature know, the number of contemporary portraits in books is very large, and as an indication of their interest and multiplicity, mention may be made of some few of them, which it will be convenient to arrange in classes.

Of Kings and Queens there are necessarily a large number, some of these may be termed official, such as those in Bibles and Prayer books, but there are others which are of more general interest.

The portrait of Edward VI occurs on the title and recto of the last leaf of *Funeralles of King Edward the Sixt*, by William Baldwin (1560).

Queen Elizabeth's effigies occur in too many books to be enumerated here and most of them are of a highly conventional character.

A portrait of Henry, Prince of Wales, by Marshall will be found in Sir Charles Cornwallis's *Discourse of Prince Henry* (1641), and an earlier one by Hole in Drayton's *Polyolbion*.

* References are made to the various portraits in Manuscripts in the British Museum in the useful book by Mr. W. De Gray Birch and Mr. H. Jenner, "Early Drawings and Illuminations," but no indication is given as to which are trustworthy or which are not. Mr. Warner, Assistant Keeper of the Manuscript Department, most kindly pointed out to me some of the most trustworthy British portraits in the Department.

There are interesting portraits of Charles I (when Prince of Wales) and the Infanta Donna Maria in the frontispiece by Hollar, prefixed to Michael Du Val's *Rosa Hispani-Anglica*, and there is the fine kneeling portrait of the king which serves as a frontispiece to the Εἰκὼν βασιλική (*see* page 136), 1648. There is a portrait of Charles II touching for the evil in Dr. John Browne's work on the King's Evil, 1684, and one of him by Van Hove thirty-five years before, in Thomas Bayly's *Royal Charter granted unto Kings by God himself*, 1649.

No class of men have had their portraits engraved and prefixed to their books so frequently as the divines. A portrait of Gervase Babington successively Bishop of Llandaff, Exeter and Worcester by R. Elstracke, is prefixed to the edition of his *Works* (1615). Several portraits of Bishop Andrews will found in his different publications. The volume of the *Works* of Robert Bolton, B.D. (1641) contains his portrait, and in the same year was published a satirical wood-cut print of Bishop Matthew Wren, in a book entitled *Wren's Anatomy* (1641). Dr. William Gouge's *Commentary on Hebrews* (1655) contains a portrait of the author by Faithorne. On the frontispiece of Richard Hooker's *Works*, 1662, is a portrait of the author. A portrait of Richard Baxter at the age of sixty-two is prefixed to the *Life of Faith* (1670), and one of Dr. John Cosin, Bishop of Durham, by W. Dolle, to the edition of the *Funeral Sermon* by John Basire, LL.D. (1673). A very fine portrait of Isaac Barrow is to be found in his *Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy* (1680).

Portraits of lawyers are often to be found in the various collections of Reports, as for instance in those of Sir William Jones (1675) and Sir John Vaughan (1677).

As a class whose portraits are prefixed to their works, authors come next to divines, and as a rule the former are of more interest to us than the latter. First and foremost in this class is the invaluable portrait of Shakespeare by Droeshout, which first appeared in the folio of 1623. There is a portrait of John Florio the friend of Shakespeare and of the

foremost of the literary men of his day in his *Second frutes* (1591), and in his translation of Montaigne's *Essays* (1613); of Thomas Coryate, the Odcombian crank, on the title-page of his *Crudities* (1611); of Samuel Daniel, prefixed to *The Civile Warres* (1609); of Samuel Purchas, at the foot of the engraved title to *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas his Pilgrimes* (1625); of John Weever, prefixed to his *Funeral Monuments* (1631); of Robert Burton, at the foot of the title-page to his *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1628); of Dr. John Donne, at the age of eighteen, prefixed to his *Poems* (1635), and at the age of forty-two in the engraved title to his *Sermons* (1640); and of Milton, at the age of twenty-one prefixed to his *Poems* (1645). This last is a peculiarly interesting portrait as it was not approved by the poet, although he allowed it to pass, being contented to write some satirical Greek verses on the proof, which were engraved by Marshall not knowing what they meant. It is certainly not much like the portrait of a young man.

The portrait of James Shirley the dramatist, is prefixed to the edition of his *Poems* (1646); of Thomas Hobbes will be found in his *Philosophical Rudiments* (1651); of William Cartwright, in the volume of his *Comedies*, &c. (1651); of Philip Massinger, in *Three New Playes* (1655); of James Howell, a full length in his *Londinopolis* (1657), and a bust on the title-page of the *Epistolæ Ho-Elianæ;* of William Chamberlaine, in *Pharonnida* (1659); of Sir Richard Lovelace, drawn by the poet's brother Colonel Francis Lovelace, and engraved by Hollar, in *Lucasta, Posthume Poems* (1659); of John Selden, in *God made man* (1661); of Thomas Fuller, in his *Worthies of England* (1662); of Sir William Davenant, in his *Works* (1672–3); of Sir Thomas Browne, in his *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* (1672); and of John Bunyan, in his *Holy War* (1688).

Of portraits of early scientific men we find examples in the *Cosmographical Glasse* (1559) of William Cunningham, the author; of John Gerard, in his *Herbal;* and of Mark Ridley, M.D., in *Magnetical Notions* 1613. The very interesting frontispiece to Sprat's *History of the Royal*

Society (1667), designed by John Evelyn and engraved by Hollar, contains a bust of Charles II crowned with bays by Fame, and figures of Bacon, and Viscount Browneker, the first President of the Society, on either side of the pedestal supporting the bust.

In the various books which form the considerable literature of music there are portraits of the celebrated musicians, as that of John Gamble, by T. Cross, in *Ayres and Dialogues* (1656 or 1657); of John Playford, in *A brief Introduction to the Skill of Music* (1655); of Thomas Mace, in *Musick's Monument* (1676); of John Blow, in *Amphion Anglicus* (1700); of Henry Purcell, in *Orpheus Britannicus*, 1706–11 (two portraits, one at twenty-four, and the other at thirty-seven); and of William Boyce (1775), in *Anthems* (1788).

There are some valuable wood-cut representations of early actors in the pamphlets of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. On the title of *Kemp's nine daies Wonder performed in a daunce from London to Norwich* (1600), there is a wood-cut of William Kemp, the Shakespearean actor, dancing in his clown's dress and attended by a man with pipe and tabor. A portrait of Richard Tarlton in clown's dress with pipe and tabor will be found in *Tarlton's Jests . . . full of delight, wit and honest mirth* (1638). The portrait appears to have been taken after his famous encounter with dogs and bears, as it shows the flatness of nose caused by his attempt to part these animals. Tom Fuller, in his *Worthies*, writes, "Our Tarlton was master of his faculty. When Queen Elizabeth was serious (I dare not say sullen) and out of good humour he could undumpish her at his pleasure." Oddly enough, the first jest in the tract relates to the poor quality of the Queen's small beer. If she was diverted by such sallies she must have been easily amused.

Portraits on broadsides are usually of little authority, but special mention must be made of two in a volume of broadsides at the British Museum, which are evidently of value as likenesses, viz.: Praise God Barebone (669 f $\frac{25}{67}$) and Hugh Peters, with a little imp at his ear (669 f $\frac{25}{63}$).

In conclusion, reference may be made to a few miscellaneous portraits of considerable interest and curiosity, as of those who are not likely to be represented elsewhere. Unfortunately, these portraits are frequently taken out of the books to which they belong, on account of their interest.

There is a whole length of Dr. Thomas Beard, Oliver Cromwell's schoolmaster, with a rod and a label from his mouth inscribed, "As in presenti," in *Pedantius, Comœdia* (1631).

The portrait of Robert Dover, the introducer of the Olympic games upon the Cotswold Hills, is shown on horseback in the lower part of the frontispiece of *Annalia Dubrensia* (1636).

In the frontispiece to the *Discovery of Witches* (1647), is a portrait of Matthew Hopkins, the witch-finder, and in the *Gentleman Highwayman* there is one of James Maclean.

One of the curiosities of portraits is that of Connop Thirlwall (afterwards the distinguished Bishop of St. David's), taken when he was eleven years old, and prefixed to a little volume of juvenile essays, entitled, *Primitiæ* (1809), which an admiring father gave to the world. The Bishop wished in after years to suppress the book of which he was not proud. Thirlwall became celebrated in spite of his early book, but no more is known of Mrs. Susannah Perrich, of Hackney, than is told in the *Virgin's Pattern in life and death of Mrs. S. P., by John Batchiler* (1661), to which is prefixed her portrait by T. Cross.

The last portrait to be mentioned is that of Henry Maydman, by Van Hove, prefixed to a useful book entitled, *Naval Speculations* (1691), underneath which portrait are these appropriate, although not very grammatical, lines :—

"When England's rule in British seas doth cease,
Farewell their wealth, their glory and their peace." *

* It has not been thought necessary to give in this abstract anything more than a slight indication of the wealth of the subject, as it is proposed to publish (as one of the Society's Monographs) a Catalogue of the Portraits in alphabetical order. The compiler will feel greatly indebted to those who are so good as to send him any references to portraits in out-of-the-way books.

Mr. Cyril Davenport added a few instances of portraits on bindings as a supplement to Mr. Wheatley's paper, exhibiting some specimens of Roman Ivory diptychs of the third and following centuries, bearing upon them finely executed portraits of the Consuls of the time. "There are," he said, "innumerable instances of portraits of Saints in metal work and enamel work in bindings of mediæval times, but none of these need be specially mentioned, as they are, of course, imaginary." No genuine portraits seem to exist between the Roman diptychs and the Italian fifteenth century bindings bearing sunk medallions; on these last are found fine profiles of Alexander, Philip of Macedon, Julius Cæsar, and others, evidently intended for real portraits, and on French bindings of the sixteenth century, similar medallion stamps are occasionally found. The finest portrait stamp known on French books is a beautiful profile of Henry II., usually gilt, with his crowned initials. The greatest number of portraits on books are found on German bindings, in calf or pigskin of the sixteenth century, and these books are also generally dated. Many of them are fine examples of die cutting. There is an especially fine one of the Emperor Maximilian, and another of the Emperor Charles V., and innumerable instances of electors, dukes, and minor dignitaries. Theology is also well represented, as there are large panel stamps of Luther and Melanchthon, besides several smaller ones, and many small medallions used in rolls.

On English bindings portraits are rare. There is only one known of Elizabeth, a finely painted specimen. Charles I occurs on several copies of the Εἰκὼν Βασιλική, sometimes also in silver and sometimes in embroidery. There is one portrait of Henrietta Maria, on an embroidered book, and at the Bodleian is a fine binding of green velvet, with a central panel, bearing a carefully worked portrait of the Duke of Buckingham.

THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.

JOURNAL OF THE SIXTH SESSION.

November, 1897, to May, 1898

NOVEMBER MEETING.

On Monday, November 17th, the President, Dr. Garnett, in the Chair, Mr. H. R. Plomer read a paper entitled *New Documents on English Printers and Booksellers of the Sixteenth Century*, printed in full in this volume.

ANNUAL REPORT.

Previous to the December Meeting, the following Report and Balance Sheet were circulated among Members by means of the *News-Sheet.*

"During the Session of 1896–97, the Bibliographical Society has had to regret the deaths of three of its most distinguished Members—Lord Charles Bruce, one of its founders and Vice-Presidents, the Duc d'Aumale, and Mr. Justin Winsor of the University of Harvard, who was so lately in conference with his fellow-librarians in England. In all other respects the Session has been a successful and prosperous one. The Society's roll has always been full, and as each vacancy has occurred, a Candidate-Member has been in readiness to fill it. The funds also, of the Society, despite some exceptional calls on them, are in a very flourishing condition. For

this financial prosperity the Society is in no small degree indebted to the Hon. Treasurer, Mr. A. H. Huth, who is now compelled by other engagements to resign the office which he has held since the foundation of the Society in 1892. Members will be glad to hear that, at the request of the Council, Mr. Huth has allowed himself to be nominated to the Vice-Presidency vacated by the death of Lord Charles Bruce, and that his active help will thus still be secured to the Society. As his successor in the Treasurership, Mr. R. E. Graves, of the British Museum, has kindly allowed himself to be nominated, and the Council congratulate the Society on being able to secure his services.

"The alteration of the hour of meeting from 8 to 5 p.m., adopted at the last Annual Meeting, has on the whole been a success. It has hitherto been thought desirable that all papers should be read before the Society before being printed; but, in order to encourage attendance, it is proposed in the future to allow exceptions more freely in the case of papers of a very special or technical character, which cannot easily be followed when read aloud. If more papers are printed than are read, it may be necessary in some years to curtail the number of meetings, lest the Society be committed to a greater amount of work than its funds will enable it to carry through. Special notice, therefore, will be given in each year whether or not any meetings will be held after Easter.

"Of the publications for 1897, Mr. H. R. Plomer's *Robert Wyer*, and Mr. Proctor's *Index to the Serapeum* are now ready for distribution. The *Transactions* up to last June are all in type; the text and illustrations of the *Chevalier Délibéré* are passed for press, and Dr. Lippmann's preface has been received, while of M. Claudin's *The First Press at the Sorbonne*, the text is printed off, and the bibliography and appendix of illustrative documents are in the hands of the printer. It is probable that only four of these five books can be paid for out of the income of 1897; if so, the fifth will appear as the first book for 1898. The prior claims of other books have also made it impossible to bring out a new part of the *Hand-*

Lists of English Printers, but it is hoped that this work may be taken up and finished during the next Session. The Council, indeed, greatly regret that the work of the Society has hitherto been so much more concerned with foreign subjects than with English. As has often been explained, the character of the books undertaken is almost exclusively determined by the nature of the offers of help received, but preference will always be given to English work. It is thus a source of satisfaction that four out of the five papers announced for the Session 1897–98 deal with English subjects, and that Mr. Wheatley has promised to expand his paper on *Portraits in English Books* into an Illustrated Monograph, which ought to make a most attractive volume.

"During the past Session, a further sum of £10 has been voted for the Library, of which £9 10*s.* has been spent. Several books have also been presented,* and it is hoped that the contents of the Library may now rapidly develope from the rather meagre beginnings indicated in the *Rough Hand-List* issued in March. One of our Members, Mr. Archibald Clarke, who is daily at Hanover Square, has kindly promised to take charge of our books for us, and to issue them to Members at convenient times, and you will be asked formally to appoint Mr. Clarke your Hon. Librarian. But even with a resident Librarian, a specialist library is not likely to be much used until it is known to be sufficiently well-stocked to make it probable that any book of value will be found in it, and now that a real beginning has been made we must endeavour to advance towards this ideal as rapidly as may be consistent with keeping up the normal issue of publications."

ANNUAL MEETING.

The Fifth Annual Meeting of the Bibliographical Society was held at 20, Hanover Square, on Monday, 20th December, at 4.45 p.m., the outgoing President, Dr. Garnett, in the Chair.

* A detailed list of purchases and presentations was circulated early in 1898.

The adoption of the Annual Report and Balance Sheet, printed in the December *News-Sheet*, was moved in a brief speech by Dr. Garnett, seconded by Mr. Huth, and carried unanimously.

Dr. Garnett then moved that the Right Hon. the Earl of Crawford, to whose attainments as a bibliographer he briefly alluded, be the Society's President for the ensuing year. The Resolution was seconded by the Bishop of Portsmouth and carried unanimously.

The election of Mr. A. H. Huth to the Vice-Presidency, vacated by the death of Lord Charles Bruce, was similarly proposed and carried, and on the motion of Mr. Huth, Mr. R. E. Graves of the British Museum, was elected his successor in the Treasurership.

On the proposition of Dr. Garnett, seconded by Mr. Boughey, Mr. W. Y. Fletcher and Mr. A. J. Butler were then elected as new Members of Council, to fill the vacancies caused by Mr. Graves becoming Treasurer, and Mr. Slater not seeking re-election.

On the proposition of Mr. Pollard, seconded by Mr. Macfarlane, Mr. Archibald Clarke was elected as Hon. Librarian. The re-election of the other Officers of the Society and Members of Council was then proposed by Mr. Welch, seconded by Mr. Neale, and carried with the same unanimity which had marked the rest of the proceedings.

Lord Crawford was then installed as President, and in returning thanks for his election alluded briefly to the considerations of health, which, as a rule, caused him to leave England after October, though in the present winter the Society is fortunate in being able to count on his attendance. The new President then proposed a cordial vote of thanks to his predecessor, which was seconded by Mr. (now Sir Ernest) Clarke, and carried with enthusiasm. A similar vote was proposed and carried to Mr. A. H. Huth, for the great services he had rendered the Society in acting as its Treasurer since its foundation. After Dr. Garnett and Mr. Huth had returned their thanks, the Annual Meeting was declared closed, and was followed by the ordinary Monthly Meeting.

BALANCE SHEET—1st DECEMBER, 1896, TO 23rd NOVEMBER, 1897, INCLUSIVE.

Dr.	£	s.	d.
By Balance, 1896	213	1	11
3 Life Subscriptions	37	16	0
Subscriptions for 1896 ...	15	15	0
British Subscriptions for 1897	204	15	0
Subscriptions for 1898 ...	9	9	0
United States Subscriptions...	81	18	0
Foreign Subscriptions ...	19	19	0
Entrance Fees	12	12	0
Sale of Publications to Members	12	18	6
Interest on Investments ...	10	7	10
	£618	12	3

Cr.	£	s.	d.
Printing	239	16	10
Illustrations	71	8	0
Copying and Researches ...	4	4	0
Vote for Library Purchases ...	10	0	0
15 Copies *Don Quixote Iconography* (1896)	7	17	6
Re-purchase of Society's Publications	2	7	6
Rent	20	0	0
Refreshments at Meetings ...	8	2	0
Vote to Library Conference...	20	0	0
Assistant Secretary	20	0	0
Hon. Secretary's Expenses ...	3	9	8
Hon. U.S. Secretary's Expenses	0	12	0
Hon. Treasurer's Expenses ...	1	10	0
Bank Charges	0	5	11
Balance	208	18	10
	£618	12	3

ALFRED H. HUTH, *Hon. Treas.*

I have compared the above with the Pass Book and Vouchers and find it correct.

24th November, 1897. EDWARD ALMACK, *Auditor.*

Assets :—	£	s.	d.
£100 2¾% Consols ...	113	0	0
£200 4% N. S. Wales Stock	212	0	0
Stock of Printed Matter, say	120	0	0
Balance of 1897 Accounts ...	208	18	10
Subscriptions unpaid... ...	15	15	0

Liabilities :—	£	s.	d.
Accounts not delivered and work in hand, say	200	0	0

DECEMBER MEETING.

The Second Monthly Meeting of the Society's Sixth Session was held on Monday, December 20th, Lord Crawford, the President, in the Chair. Mr. Lionel Cust, F.S.A., Director of the National Portrait Gallery, read a paper on *The Originals of the Designs of the Block Book "Ars Moriendi."*

Summary :—"Mr. Cust began his paper by expressing his indebtedness to his friend, Dr. Lehrs, on the results of whose investigations, placed

freely at his disposal, he desired it to be understood that it was based. After an allusion to the St. Christopher of 1423 and other early wood-cuts, a brief account was given of the beginnings of engraving on copper, which we now connect with the name of the Italian Finiguerra, and of the work of the 'Master E. S.' A few of the prints of this artist, who probably belonged to the region of the upper Rhine, bear the dates 1466 and 1467, and these from their much greater artistic development are regarded as the latest he executed. His work was carried on by two later engravers, Martin Schongauer, and the artist known as the Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet, who has sometimes been identified with the elder Hans Holbein. But it is not in connection with his later masterpieces, or with the subsequent developments of the art of engraving, that his work is interesting to bibliographers. From the stages of development which can be traced in his art, it is clear that he must have been at work for a considerable number of years, and the engravings illustrating the *Ars Moriendi* which must be attributed to him, belong to his earliest period. The only set of these engravings known to exist was bequeathed by Francis Douce to the Bodleian Library, but has been for some years exhibited in the University Galleries of Oxford, to the confusion of bibliographers who have looked for them in the Bodleian. Of only three of the prints are other examples known, a single specimen in each case being preserved at the Print Room at the British Museum, at the Royal Museum at Berlin, and in a collection in Bavaria. From the Oxford set a complete series of photographs was exhibited by Mr. Cust, together with a few of the copies by the 'Master of St. Erasmus,' whose imitations are important as additional evidence that the originals must be reckoned among the earlier works of the 'Master E. S' Along with these photographs of the copper engravings, Mr. Cust exhibited a similar set of photographs from the block-book *Ars Moriendi*, purchased for the British Museum at the Weigel Sale for some eleven hundred pounds.

This block-book is generally allowed to be the first of the block-printed editions known, and Mr. Cust gave a brief description of it and of

the block-printed text which accompanies it, showing how its eleven cuts illustrate the different temptations—Unbelief, Despair, Impatience, Vain-Glory and Avarice, which beset the dying, the good inspirations by which they may be resisted, and lastly the moment of death. A comparison of the photographs from the copper engravings and the block-book could leave no doubt that one set was copied from the other, and Mr. Cust strongly contended that the copper engravings, with their many points of resemblance to other designs, undoubtedly original, by the 'Master E. S.,' must be allowed the priority. In imitating them, as he held, the cutter of the block-book placed scrolls bearing exclamations, as 'sum captiuatus,' 'labores amisi,' in the hands of the demons, in order to render the meaning of the pictures more clear. He also corrected certain mistakes, such as the use of the left-hand instead of the right, which are found in the copper engravings. But similar mistakes are found in other engravings by 'E. S.,' and their occurrence, in Mr. Cust's view, did not militate against the originality of his designs for the *Ars Moriendi*. The date of 'about 1450' now usually assigned to the block-book fitted in well with the probable period of the engravings, having regard to their relations to the more finished work of 1466, &c., and other instances could be given of wood-cuts in printed books being copied from engravings, while of engravings copied from wood-cuts none had yet been found. In conclusion, Mr. Cust strongly urged everyone interested in the early history of book-illustration, to study diligently the specimens of early engraving on copper to be found in the Print Room at the British Museum, and in other similar collections.

In proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Cust, the President alluded to the early manuscripts of the *Biblia Pauperum* and the *Apocalypse*, from which the corresponding block-books were undoubtedly imitated, and Mr. Redgrave, in cordially seconding the vote, expressed a desire for further time to consider the points which Mr. Cust had put forward in his very interesting paper, before abandoning the claim of the *Ars Moriendi* block-book to originality.

In the informal conversation over the photographs, by which the paper was followed, several members appeared to be of opinion that the probabilities were in favour of the engravings being copied from the block-book, rather than the block-book from the engravings. Fortunately, the opportunity for detailed study will soon be afforded by the publication at the Clarendon Press of collotype reproductions of both series, together with an introduction by Mr. Cust.

JANUARY MEETING.

On Monday, January 17th, the President, Lord Crawford, in the Chair, Mr. W. Y. Fletcher read a paper on *John Bagford and his Collections*, printed in full in this volume.

FEBRUARY MEETING.

On Monday, February 21st, Dr. Garnett, ex-President, in the Chair, Mr. Cyril Davenport read a paper on *English Embroidered Bindings*.

Summary.—After alluding to other applications of embroidery to decorative work, Mr. Davenport pointed out that only in England has there been a continuous production of embroidered bookbindings over any considerable period. The earliest known specimen of this art, the *Felbrigge Psalter*, dates from the first quarter of the fifteenth century (c. 1422); the latest examples from about the time of the Restoration. Thus, the whole period of their production extends to nearly two centuries and a half. Embroidered book-covers have been made in Italy, France and the Netherlands, but they are rare, and nothing is known of any regular output of such work except in England.

English Embroidered Bookbindings may be divided into three classes, according to the material, linen or canvas, velvet, and silk or satin, on which the work is done. These classes overlap as to time, but while canvas was used most generally, velvet especially appears during the sixteenth century, and may be called the favourite Tudor material, while satin is found chiefly under the early Stuarts. It should be stated that under the term embroidered bookbindings, books covered with any woven

material, or even in pieces of old embroidery are not here reckoned. In each case the handwork and design have, to all appearance, been especially applied to the particular books they cover. It is quite likely, moreover, that such bindings were in use at an earlier date than can be assigned to any now in existence. Thus, there are several records of books belonging to English kings before Henry VIII being bound in velvet, but there is no special mention of their being embroidered.

During the whole period of the production of embroidered bindings, *linen and canvas* were freely employed, the whole of the ground being covered with needlework. The stitches employed are known as tent stitch, chain stitch and split stitch, and in many of the later specimens we find threads of metal, or of metal and silk combined, the most noteworthy being 'purl,' a copper-wire closely covered with coloured silks and then coiled in a spiral.

Among notable 'canvas' bindings may be mentioned two which have been attributed to Queen Elizabeth. When she was eleven years, she wrote out with her own hand her translation from the French, *The Mirrour of the Synneful Soul*, for Katharine Parr, and a book of prayers for Henry VIII, the former book being now in the Bodleian, the latter in the British Museum. The designs of the bindings of these two books are similar, each having a monogram as a centre, a heartsease in the corners, and gold and silver braid of the same character. Whether the work of the little Princess or not, they are quite unlike the fine professional velvet work of the time when they were produced.

In the case of *velvet* bindings the ground in every instance is allowed its full decorative value. The earliest work is usually 'appliqué,' *i.e.*, pieces of satin are sewed on the velvet, the smaller details being worked on the satin. Sometimes, however, threads of floss-silk are laid side by side directly on the velvet, and caught down by small stitches across them. Fine gold is largely used, and guimp of gold and silver, often enriched with pearls, much more rarely with coloured jewels.

Silk and satin, as has been said, save for a very few books bound for Henry VIII and Elizabeth, were not employed till the seventeenth century.

In decorating them gold and silver threads and purl are largely used, and the effect of delicate silk-work is sometimes enhanced by the use of water-colours beneath it, gold-tooling is also occasionally used near the edges of the boards. The most usual stitch is the feather stitch, shaded, in floss silk. Flowers and figures are generally edged with fine gold cord or twist, and some is made of French knots. Needle-point lace occurs sometimes in small satin-bound books. By this stitch petals of flowers, leaves, wings of insects, wings and tails of birds, etc., are represented in alto-relievo.

The designs on satin-bound books are generally floral, symbolical or biblical, very seldom heraldic.

In illustration of his paper, Mr. Davenport exhibited forty-one lantern slides representing a selection of the finest bindings of each of the different classes described. A full list of these is here appended:

I.—Books with Canvas Ground.

1. The Felbrigge Psalter. Early 15th century. 5¾ × 7¾ inches. B.M.
2. The Miroir or Glasse of the Synneful Soule. MS. By the Princess Elizabeth, 1545. 7⅛ × 5¼ inches. Bodl.
3. Prayers translated by the Princess Elizabeth. MS. 5¾ × 4 inches. Bodl.
4. Bible and Psalms. *London*, 1613. 6¾ × 4¼ inches. B.M.
5. The Daily Exercise of a Christian. *London*, 1623. 4¾ × 2¾ inches. B.M.
6. Bible and Psalms. *London*, 1642. 6 × 3½ inches. B.M.
7. Bible. *London*, 1648. 6¾ × 4¾ inches. B.M.

II.—Books with Velvet Ground.

1. Brion. Description of the Holy Land. Early 16th century. 9 × 6 inches. (*Purple*). B.M.
2. Il Petrarcha. *Venezia*, 1544. 7 × 6 inches. (*Purple*). B.M.
3. Queen Mary's Psalter. MS. bound about 1554. 11 × 6¾ inches. (*Crimson*). B.M.
4. Christopherson. Historia Ecclesiastica. *Louvain*, 1569. (*Green*). B.M.
5. Christian Prayers. *London*, 1570. 6 × 3½ inches. (*Crimson*). B.M.
6. Parker. De Antiquitate Ecclesiæ Britannicæ. *London*, 1572. 10 × 7 inches. (*Green*). B.M.

7. The Epistles of St. Paul. *London*, 1578. 4⅛ × 3¼ inches. (*Black*). Bodl.
8. Orationis Dominicæ Explicatio. *Genevæ*, 1583. 6⅞ × 4¼ inches. (*Black*). B.M.
9. Bible. *London*, 1583. 11 × 7 inches. (*Crimson*). Bodl.
10. Peter Martyr. Commonplaces, etc. *London*, 1583. 13⅛ × 9 inches. (*Purple*). B.M.
11. Bible. *Antwerp*, 1590. 7 × 4 inches. (*Green*). B.M.
12. Collection of 16th century Tracts. 8 × 6 inches. (*Crimson*). B.M.
13. Bacon. Opera. *London*, 1623. 13¼ × 8¾ inches. (*Purple*). B.M.
14. Bacon. Essays. *London*, 1625. 7 × 5 inches. (*Green*). Bodl.
15. Book of Common Prayer. *London*, 1638. 8 × 6 inches. (*Blue*). Royal Library, Windsor.
16. Bible. *Cambridge*, 1674. 18 × 12 inches. (*Crimson*). B.M.

III.—Books with Satin or Silk Grounds. *

1. New Testament. *Lugd. Batav*, 1576. 4¾ × 2¾ inches. B.M.
2. Bible. *London*, 1618–19. 6 × 3½ inches. B.M.
3. Emblemes Chrestiennes par Georgette de Montenay, etc. MS. 1624. 11¼ × 7¾ inches. (*Pink*). B.M.
4. New Testament. *London*, 1625. 4⅛ × 3⅛ inches. Bodl.
5. New Testament with the Psalms. *London*, 1630. 4 × 2 inches. B.M.
6. Henshaw. Horæ Successivæ, etc. *London*, 1632. 4¼ × 2 inches. B.M.
7. Psalms. *London*, 1633. 3 × 2 inches. B.M.
8. Psalms. *London*, 1633. 4 × 3 inches. In the possession of Dr. Law.
9. Psalms. *London*, 1635. 3½ × 3 inches. B.M.
10. Bible. *London*, 1638. 6 × 3 inches. B.M.
11. Psalms. *London*, 1639. 3 × 2 inches. B.M.
12. Way to True Happiness. *London*, 1639. 7 × 4⅛ inches. B.M.
13. New Testament. *London*, 1640. 4⅛ × 2¼ inches. B.M.
14. Psalms. *London*, 1641. 4 × 2 inches. B.M.
15. Psalms. *London*, 1643. 4¼ × 3¼ inches. B.M.
16. Psalms. *London*, 1643. 3¼ × 2¼ inches. B.M.
17. Psalms. *London*, 1646. 4 × 2⅛ inches. B.M.
18. Bible. *London*, 1646. 6 × 3½ inches. B.M.

In the discussion which followed, Dr. Garnett dwelt on the superiority of the floral designs to the subject-pictures, and on the extreme frailty of embroidered bindings of every kind, a remark in which Mr. Wheatley and Mrs. Sparling (Miss May Morris) expressed their agreement. Mr. Redgrave approved the division of these bindings according to the materials used for the groundwork; Mr. Gleeson White asked as to

* *White* unless otherwise mentioned.

how the titles were given on embroidered bindings; Mr. Welch mentioned the records of the Broderers' Company as a possible source of further information; and Mr. Almack asked as to the relation of these embroidered bindings to the work of the Sisters of Little Gidding.

In reply, Mr. Davenport maintained that embroidered bindings were far more durable than might be supposed. As to titles on embroidered bindings, he had never seen any, except in modern work. He doubted whether the Broderers concerned themselves with book-covers, which, at least in the seventeenth century, were more probably decorated by lady amateurs. As to the Sisters of Little Gidding, their work, of which he showed two specimens by means of the lantern—

1. Harmony of the Gospels. 1642? 20 × 14 inches. (Purple velvet, stamped in gold). The property of the Marquis of Salisbury.
2. Notitia Dignitatum, etc. *Lugduni*, 1608. 12¼ × 8¼ inches. (Blue velvet, stamped in gold and silver). B.M.

was stamped and not embroidered on the velvet.

A hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Davenport brought the meeting to a close.

MARCH MEETING.

On Monday, March 21st, the President, Lord Crawford, in the Chair, Mr. Sidney Lee read a paper entitled: *Some Bibliographical Problems connected with the Elizabethan Drama*, which, after a brief introduction, was concerned exclusively with the First Folio of Shakespeare, and more particularly with a hitherto unnoticed peculiarity, discovered by Mr. Lee in one of the two copies in the possession of the Baroness Burdett-Coutts. By the kindness of Lady Burdett-Coutts, Mr. Lee was able to exhibit this copy at the meeting, while fine copies of the normal type were brought by Lord Crawford and Mr. Huth. The following summary is supplied by Mr. Lee.

Summary.—Mr. Lee pointed out that the supreme value of the First Folio of Shakespeare of 1623 lay in the circumstance that to it exclusively we owed our possession of twenty of Shakespeare's masterpieces. It was thus intrinsically the most valuable volume in the whole range of English literature. Sixteen of Shakespeare's plays alone were printed in his lifetime. These appeared in separate quarto volumes, and *Othello* followed separately, after his death, in like form. The majority of the plays that were acted in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were never published, and have gone the way of waste paper. Had the First Folio collection never come into existence, as it did seven years after Shakespeare's death, the world would have been the poorer by *The Tempest*, *Measure for Measure*, *As You Like It*, *Twelfth Night*, *Julius Cæsar*, *Macbeth*, *Cymbeline*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *Winter's Tale*, *Coriolanus*, and ten others. The First Folio was produced by a syndicate of two printers—father and son—and three publishers co-operating. with representatives of the acting company which owned Shakespeare's manuscripts. It was printed by William and Isaac Jaggard, the two printers of the syndicate, at their press in Fleet Street, near St. Dunstan's church. Mr. Lee drew attention to signs of careless printing and press-correction on the part of those who were engaged in producing the volume, which contained nearly one thousand double column pages. Printers' and readers' errors accounted for the discrepancies among different copies of the book, of which several had previously been noticed by bibliographers. But an unique irregularity, which had not hitherto been noticed, distinguished one of the two copies which now belong to the Baroness Burdett-Coutts. Mr. Lee exhibited to the meeting, by permission of the Baroness, the copy containing this unnoticed irregularity, which, he believed, he was the first to discover a few weeks ago. The copy, before it came into the Baroness's possession, had found a home for more than a century and a-half in the library formed by the Sheldon family at their house in Long Compton, Warwickshire, not very far from Stratford-on-Avon. It still bore the Sheldon arms on its cover, and had

manuscript comments in a seventeenth century hand. The Sheldon library was dispersed in 1781. The unique feature of this Sheldon copy, which was not, unhappily, in a very good condition, was that the concluding passages of *Romeo and Juliet*, and the opening passages of *Troilus and Cressida*, were printed twice over at different parts of the volume. Judging from the position of the duplicated passages, and from evidence of pagination ,it was probable that the printers, while the work was in process of production, at first intended that *Troilus and Cressida* should follow *Romeo and Juliet*, instead of preceding it at a long interval as in ordinary copies. This uncertainty as to the arrangement of the plays was of interest, because the arrangement in ordinary copies of the First Folio had been religiously adhered to by most of the later editors. The clumsiness of the printers in supplying in the Sheldon copy so signal a proof of their hesitation, and merely accidental procedure, in fixing on an order for the plays, gave that copy an interest in the eyes of collectors something like that attaching to the "Vinegar" or "Wicked" Bible—works which owed their market value to an oversight on the part of the correctors of the Press. Mr. Lee estimated that of some two hundred copies of the First Folio which are extant, only thirty are in a perfect condition, some twenty have small defects, and as many as a hundred and fifty copies are seriously defective. The Daniel copy, which the Baroness Burdett-Coutts purchased in 1864 for £716, was probably, when considered in all its aspects, the finest copy extant.

In a discussion which followed, Dr. Garnett and Mr. Wheatley called attention to the literary interest attaching to Mr. Lee's discovery, which seemed to suggest that the editors of the First Folio had intended to point the contrast between the faithful love depicted in *Romeo and Juliet* and the unfaithful of *Troilus and Cressida* by printing them in close conjunction.

Lord Crawford moved votes of thanks, to Mr. Lee for his paper and to the Baroness Burdett-Coutts, who had intended to be present but was unavoidably detained, for lending the volume.

MAY MEETING.

On Monday, May 16th, the President, Lord Crawford, in the Chair, Mr. W. H. J. Weale read a paper on *Early Printing at Bruges*, printed in full in this volume.

No meeting was held this year in June, but on Monday, June 13th, Lord Crawford entertained the Society at the Grafton Galleries, where an exhibition of 265 manuscripts from the *Bibliotheca Lindesiana* had been specially arranged. A list of the Western MSS. and of those in jewelled or ivory covers is printed in this volume.

NEW DOCUMENTS ON ENGLISH PRINTERS AND BOOKSELLERS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

By H. R. PLOMER.

Paper read 15th November, 1897.

I HOPE you are not in expectation that I am about to make known to you some startling discoveries. For in that case, I fear this paper will be sadly disappointing. I have nothing in the nature of "John Dorne's Day-Book" to place before you to-night, nor have I discovered who was the St. Alban's printer. The papers I am going to describe to you are innocent and unexciting, and all I claim for them is that as far as I know they have not hitherto been heard of. Perhaps most of them might have been left in their obscurity; but of that you will be able to judge when you have heard what they are. Believing that documents existed, from which the scanty biographies of the English printers of the 16th century, recorded by Ames and his successors, might be supplemented, I have for some time past been on the look-out for any that I could come across either at the Record Office or Somerset House. Sometimes I have deliberately sought for them by studying the calendars and MS. indexes at the Record Office; others I have come upon quite by accident and in the course of other work. I have picked out a few of the more interesting.

The earliest document of the series is one that relates to Richard Pynson. It is amongst the proceedings of the Star Chamber for the reign of Henry VIII. At that time the jurisdiction of the Court of Star Chamber, dealt principally with riots and assaults, and was much more justly handled than it came to be a century later. Properly, this document belongs to the previous reign, as in it Pynson is spoken of as living in the parish of St. Clement's without Temple Bar, so that although it bears no date it must be placed before 1502. It consists of the deposition or statement of one Thomas Sutton, taken down in writing on behalf of Pynson, who had entered an action against a man named Henry Squyer for assault arising out of a street riot. Whether the action was ever tried and what was the upshot of it we can never know, as all the other documents relating to the case are missing, and the decrees and judgments of the Court of Star Chamber have been lost for nearly two centuries. So we must take Sutton's story as we find it, and thank a kindly fate for preserving to us this glimpse of Richard Pynson.

Thomas Sutton begins by speaking of himself as then living at Chingford in Essex, but "late of the parish of St. Clement's without Temple Bar," where he declares that he had lived "for thirty years." He goes on to say that in "Ester week last past," whenever that might be, he went to see his old neighbours in the parish of St. Clement's, and in company with Richard Pynson and his wife, and divers others, went to the house of one William Strenger and there drank and made merry.

You will notice that Sutton does not expressly mention that Richard Pynson was a printer, but unless you are prepared to admit the possibility of there being *two* Richard Pynsons living in the parish of St. Clement's at the same time, I think you will have no doubt that the printer is referred to. Indeed, had there been two of the same name in the parish, in all probability Sutton would have distinguished the one he was referring to by the mention of his trade.

To return to the narrative. In the midst of their pleasure, a stranger entered, and going up to Pynson, advised him to go home at once, for, to

use the quaint phraseology of the document, "there were folke layde awayte in the strete to injure hym." Pynson's wife was naturally alarmed, and began to weep, whereupon the witness Sutton bade her not be "aferd," for by God's grace they would get her husband safely to his house. So they paid for their drinks and went out. They were no sooner outside the door than some boys began to throw stones, and upon Sutton remonstrating with them, he was threatened by a man armed with a sword. He seized the fellow by the throat and bade him keep the king's peace, whereupon Henry Squyer, the defendant, armed with a bill, attacked Sutton, compelling him to loose his hold of the other man, and reviled Pynson with foul words. In short, by the time the party got back to Pynson's house, which was evidently close by, a very pretty street riot was in progress, the rioters breaking into the house of one Hales, and bringing from it a bench, with which they burst in the doors of other houses. The witness Sutton declares that they were about to do the same to Pynson's house, but were prevented by a party of courtiers who happened to be passing at the time.

As nothing more is said of Pynson, it is evident that he and his wife got within doors safely; but the fact of his bringing an action against one of the rioters looks as though he had been roughly handled. Sutton wound up his statement by saying that he could not tell what the rioters intended, as he saw neither the bailiff of the Savoy, nor the vicar the 'bocher,' there at the time. There is a good deal that one would like to have explained in this sentence with its contemptous reference to the vicar; but it would entail considerable searching, and I have not attempted it. The chief interest in the document is the reference to Pynson and his wife, the fact of his having a wife being, I believe, hitherto unrecorded. In one part of it the witness made a curious slip, referring to Pynson as John instead of Richard. It suggests the idea that there may have been a John Pynson.

The next series of papers to which I would call your attention were found amongst the records of the Court of Requests for the reign of Henry VIII. at the Record Office. That court was established in the

ninth year of Henry VII. as a poor man's court, in which he could approach the king and claim judgment without the payment of fees, and amongst the cases brought before it in the first half of the 16th century was Rastell versus Walton. The plaintiff in the action was none other than John Rastell, the lawyer and printer of law books, and the action was to recover possession of certain "players' garments." The documents preserved of this consist of Rastell's bill of complaint, the answer of the defendant, and the depositions of the witnesses on both sides.

I had the pleasure some time back of contributing to the pages of "Bibliographica," a paper on "John Rastell and his Contemporaries," in which I was able to shew that in the intervals between attending the courts and looking after his printing house in Cheapside, Rastell spent his time at his private house in Finsbury Fields. The present series of documents form a sequel to this, and shew us the printer, probably at the happiest time of his life, in the possession of friends and fortune, receiving company and giving entertainments at his country house.

Like the Pynson document, these bear no date whatever, but from the statements made in them, the action was brought after 1526, probably about 1530, if not later, and dealt with a matter that had taken place a good many years before, at least as early as 1520, I should think. About that time Rastell mounted a stage-play in the grounds of his house in Finsbury Fields, and the defendant Walton, who seems to have been a kind of theatrical agent, furnished the timber, lathe, nails, etc., for the staging at a cost of fifty shillings, and the players' garments in dispute were specially made for the occasion. A tailor was hired at a wage of 4*d.* a day beside meat and drink, and we are further told that Mistress Rastell, who, you will remember, was the sister of Sir Thomas More, helped in the making of them. The whole of this theatrical wardrobe was set out at length in an inventory, and I think it will interest you if I briefly notice one or two of the items.

To begin with, there was a garment "of green sarcenet lined with red tuke, and with Roman letters stitched upon it of red and blue sarcenet."

There was also, a garment "for a gallant," with wide sleeves, the one side of red and yellow sarcenet, and the other side blue and red, lined with tuke or buckram. A third, was a woman's garment, made in quarrels or losenges, and garnished with "gold skynnes," which the tailor declared, was worth a noble for the making only. Yet another, was a short garment, of blue satin of Bruges, lined with green sarcenet, which cost Rastell twenty shillings, or an equivalent of ten pounds in money of the present day. Besides these, there was a dress for a priest to play in, and caps, and curtains, and other stage properties, particular mention being made of "an old remnant of red buckram that was in a box in my lord cardinall's grete chamber," which sounds like a relic of Wolsey's greatness.

All this property Rastell handed over to Walton for safe custody, some time afterwards, on the eve of his departure for France, but on his return Walton refused to give them up, and hence the law proceedings. Many curious customs are referred to by the witnesses in their statements. It was the custom for players to hire their costumes in those days, and Walton seems to have let these garments out until they were worn threadbare, the most notable occasion being at the banquet given by Henry VIII to the French King and Queen and the Venetian Ambassadors at Greenwich, in the summer of 1526. They also stated, what I do not think is generally known at the present day, namely, that stage-plays and interludes were performed at different seasons of the year, stage-plays being the amusement of the summer months, while interludes were performed only in the winter. The rates for the hire of the garments for stage-plays averaged from two shillings to three and fourpence for each representation, while for interludes the garments could be had for eightpence for each performance. Rastell is believed to have been the author of at least one interlude, but it was clearly a stage-play that was acted in his grounds at Finsbury, probably one of the moralities or miracle plays common to that time, but there is no evidence forthcoming to tell us what it was.

The documents I have already noticed merely illustrate incidents in the lives of two well-known printers. I now come to one which is

of more practical value. It is the will of John Reynes, the bookseller and bookbinder, which I found at Somerset House some time back.

The biographical notices of John Reynes have hitherto been most unsatisfactory, consisting of the bare statement that he lived and worked at the sign of St. George in St. Paul's Churchyard, between the years 1527 and 1544, and that John Cawood, afterwards Warden of the Stationers' Company, put up two memorial windows in the Company's Hall to John Reynes "his master." It is a proof of the careful way in which Ames and Herbert did their work, that the date 1544 given by them as the latest date of any book they could attribute to Reynes was in fact the year of his death, this will being written on the 8th April, 1543, and proved on the 26th February, 1544, so that his death evidently took place shortly before. The will is too lengthy a document to read in full, but I hope it may be added as an appendix to this paper. I will, therefore, give you briefly the chief items of interest and value that it contains.

After the usual pious expression of his religious belief, it tells us what I believe has not been known before, that John Reynes was twice married, his first wife being named Joane, and he desires to be buried beside her in Pardon Church Yard. He died childless, leaving his business to his second wife Lucy. To four of his "servants" he left legacies; to Thomas Holwarde, a hundred shillings in books; to Edward Wright, ten pounds in books; to Edward Sutton, a hundred shillings in books; and to Robert Holder, ten pounds in books. All of these were apprentices, but the will specially directs that Edward Wright and Robert Holder shall serve their mistress for two years longer, and that they shall have the option of buying the stock. This Robert Holder rose to be one of the Assistants of the Company of Stationers upon its incorporation; but of Edward Wright we do not hear any more. Nor do we know the subsequent history of Thomas Holward; but Edward Sutton carried on business as a bookseller at the Cradle in Lombard Street down to the year 1568.

But perhaps the most interesting passage in this will is that which relates to the payment of the legacies to Thomas Holward and Edward

Sutton. The phraseology is somewhat involved, and the utter disregard of all forms of punctuation make it difficult to clearly understand the testator's wishes. He directs that upon coming out of their time, they shall take out of his stock, not just what books they liked, but books of all sorts to the value of five pounds apiece, "after the price as Arnold and John Bryckman doo sell them to London to the booksellers." The Arnold Bryckman here referred to was of course the celebrated printer and bookseller of Cologne, John may have been a brother, but very little seems to be known about him. Another member of the same firm was Francis, and they had depôts in Antwerp, Paris and London. This reference to them in the will of John Reynes seems to shew that they were looked upon as the leading house in the bookselling trade at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Reynes also particularly mentions "my instruments and all that belongeth to my science," by which he probably meant his craft as a bookbinder. His stamped bindings were, I believe, particularly good, and many examples of them are still to be found.

There is no mention of John Cawood in Reynes's will, and the inference is that he had completed his term of apprenticeship some time before 1543, and was perhaps established as a printer and bookseller on his own account, though the earliest book we know of from his press was not issued until 1549.

The finding of this will serves to correct a curious but quite pardonable slip in Professor Arber's *Transcripts*, Vol. I, p. 418. Under the years 1569 and 1570 he places two entries to "Master Raynes," and adds a query as to whether they refer to John Reynes. The works entered were *Theatrum Dialectices* and *Cathechesmus in laten.*

As we now know, Reynes had been dead over twenty years, so that they clearly could not refer to him, and it turns out that "Master Raynes" was a misreading of "Master Rayner," otherwise Reginald Wolfe, who was more familiarly known in the trade as Reyne, or Reyner. Thus, in the

State Papers for the year 1533, he was referred to as "Reyner" Wolfe, a native of Gelderland, and in Archbishop Parker's letters he was spoken of as "our friend Rayner." But the matter is put beyond doubt by reference to the *Catechism*, one of the two books in question, of which there is a copy in the British Museum, the colophon to which reads: *Excusum Londini apud Reginaldum Wolfium.*

Reynes left legacies to poor householders in St. Faith's parish, and a sum of twenty shillings to his brethren the Stationers to pay their expenses to his funeral and "to make them a breakfast." Thomas Docwrey, who was named as one of the overseers, was a neighbour of Reynes' in St. Paul's Churchyard, and, as we know, was the first master of the Stationers' Company upon its incorporation in 1555.

Reynes's widow outlived him some five years, removing shortly after his death from St. Paul's Churchyard into a house in Paternoster Row, granted to her by Bonner, then Bishop of London, about which there cropped up a dispute which was also carried into the Court of Requests, and may there be studied from the original documents. Her will is likewise in Somerset House, and has the distinction of being one of the longest to be found there. It was proved on the 25th October, 1549, but in spite of its length, there is not much in it bearing upon the history of printing. She had also been twice married, her first husband being Richard Knolles, and it appears that she was godmother to John Cawood's daughter, to whom she left a legacy of 6*s.* 8*d.*, and also to "Reyner" Wolfe's child, to whom she bequeathed half that sum.

Another celebrated printer of the sixteenth century about whom I have found one or two unpublished documents at the Record Office is Thomas Berthelet. On the Patent Rolls of 34 Henry VIII, is entered a license to Richard Moryson to alienate certain houses in Friday Street to Berthelet. Sir Richard Morison was the author and translator of several books, all of which were printed for him by this printer, and possibly the transfer of this property was in lieu of payment.

Again on the same rolls is entered the king's license to Berthelet to absent himself from going into France. But the most important of the series is that of 1544 (36 Henry VIII) in which, in consideration of a sum of two hundred and twelve pounds ten shillings paid to the king's use by his good, true and faithful servant Thomas Berthelet, the king granted him certain property in London, for the use of himself and his heirs for ever. The grant covers two membranes closely written in dog-latin, states each separate portion of the property, with the names of the occupiers, and a good deal of it was taken up with the conditions under which Berthelet and his heirs were to hold it. Briefly stated, this grant consisted of a house in the parish of St. Bride called "Salisbury Place," which had formed part of the property of the monastery of Godstowe, near Oxford, several houses in Friday Street and Distaff Lane once part of the possession of the monastery of "Our Lady of the Graces" near the Tower, and lastly two houses in Fleet Street formerly belonging to the priory or hospital of St. John of Jerusalem. All this property was in Berthelet's possession at the time of his death, and is mentioned in his will as a legacy to his two sons.

Many interesting papers are also preserved at the Record Office concerning Richard Tottel, famous both as a printer of law-books and the publisher of Tottel's Miscellany. Like so many of the early printers, he seems to have had no occasion to take to printing for a livelihood. He was a man of good birth and considerable estate. His sister had married Sir John Cheyne, of Bucks, and in this way he became possessed of a great deal of property in that county and in Devonshire.

Curiously enough, several of the printers were connected with the county of Bucks: the Wyers had lands at Wendover; Thomas East, noted chiefly for his musical publications, came of a family that were scattered in various parts of it; while the Tottels held property at Chesham, Amersham and other places. Both Richard and his son William had numerous law suits in Chancery over their Buckinghamshire property, which in the third year of Charles I was granted in livery to William Drake, son of

Francis Drake, by right of his mother Johanna, daughter of William Tottel. The Hand and Star in Fleet Street, Richard Tottel's printing house, was Crown property, and was one of two houses that he bought in 1556 from Robert Holbech, after having been a tenant of it for three years. These houses had previously been occupied by Thomas Holbech, the father of Robert, and one John Machyn, who may or may not have been a relation of that Machyn whose diary forms so valuable a record of the men of the sixteenth century.

I also found in these law-records a really important reference to Richard Grafton. No existing biography of that printer tells us that he was twice married, or that his second wife survived him. The *Dictionary of National Biography* quotes Machyn's diary as follows: "Grafton seems to have died about 1572. His wife died in 1560, and was buried with much ceremony." Now listen to this. In 1577, Robert Eyre, of London, gentleman, and Alice his wife, brought an action in the Court of Chancery against the Lord Mayor and Corporation of the City of London to recover possession of a messuage, a garden, a little yard or curtilage, with a watercourse and conduit pipe, in the parish of Christ Church within Newgate, and some time parcell of the possessions of the dissolved house of the Grey Friars, *late the estate of Richard Grafton, the plaintiff Alice's former husband.* In their complaint they quote another document, also preserved, dated 1564, and made between one John Ettonfield and Richard Grafton and Alice his wife, so that his second marriage must have taken place not many years after the death of his first wife. The Mayor and Corporation in their answer say that Grafton was an officer of the Hospital of St. Bartholomew, and had a house which he rented of the City for £6 13*s.* 4*d.* a year, and that he wrongfully annexed "the yard and the west side of the cloisters with a tower in the walls of the City of London called Jerico," and that he afterwards acknowledged his wrong and resigned his interest in the disputed property; but this was denied by the other side, who added that Richard Grafton had deserved better of all the City, and especially of the hospital, than to be accused falsely after his death.

I have endeavoured to trace some connection between the Robert Eyre mentioned in these documents, who married Grafton's widow, and the Eyres who for upwards of a century have had the management of the Royal printing house. The present representative of the firm, Mr. G. E. B. Eyre, in answer to my enquiries, states that he traces his line from the Eyres of Wiltshire, he also states that John Eyre, who bought John Baskett's business, was also "of London." So that it is not impossible that there may be some connection between Robert Eyre of 1577 and G. E. B. Eyre of 1897.

Incidentally, this document gives us a bit of London topography worth the attention of Sir Walter Besant. I believe I am right in saying that no history of London makes any mention of a tower in the walls of the city called "Jerico," and it would be interesting to know whereabouts in the walls it stood and why it was called Jericho.

One other document and I have done. As you remember, William Rastell, the son of John, was also a printer. He was, moreover, a very eminent lawyer, and rose to be one of the Justices of the Queen's Bench in the days of Mary. Unlike his father, he was a staunch Roman Catholic, and one of his greatest literary undertakings was the editing of the works of Sir Thomas More. Upon the accession of Edward VI, he left England and lived abroad until the king's death and the accession of Mary, when he returned to England. But once more the wheel of fortune turned. Mary's death placed him at the mercy of the Protestant party, and he wisely did not wait for them to lay hold of him, but immediately on Elizabeth's accession once more hurriedly left the country. His property thereupon became forfeited to the Crown, and amongst the records of the Exchequer is an inventory of the books found at his house in Serjeant's Inn. This document has unfortunately suffered from the ravages of time, and the last part of it is quite illegible. It is also probable that such as it is, it does not represent anything like the whole of William Rastell's library. He doubtless took with him all the books he valued. The list, however, is a fairly long one, and is interesting as shewing the character of a lawyer's library in the

middle of the sixteenth century. For the books mentioned in it are chiefly law books, supplemented with a few works on theology, and some classics. Against each item was set its value, but as we do not know the basis upon which the valuation was made, we can hardly judge whether the prices were high or low.

The list is headed with, "An Abridgement in paper of the Lawe, 2 shillings." There were also several other editions of these abridgements, notably the "old abridgement," which seems to be that printed by Lettou and Machlinia, valued at fourpence, and "one part of the abridgement of Pinson's," valued at twopence. There were year-books for the reigns of Edward III, Henry VII, Richard III, Edward IV, Henry IV, Richard II, and Henry VIII, ranging in price from four to five shillings. Another item of some interest is entered as "The Parliament of Richard the Third.' As this was priced at 3*s.* 4*d.* it was evidently a large book, and was perhaps the *Statuta apud Westmonasterium* which was printed by Machlinia about 1484, and of which there is a copy in the British Museum. The theological division included a Greek and Latin testament, a psalter in Greeke, a testament in French, the Bible written in parchment and valued at two shillings, Winchester's book against Bucer, and Saint Augustine's sermons in a large volume. The classics comprised a Livy, probably a foreign edition, priced at 3*s.* 4*d.*, the histories of Eusebius in three parts, Horace with a commentary, perhaps also a foreign edition, no English translation of so early a date being known, a French translation of Virgil, Horace and Tully "de oratore," Euripides in Latin and Greek, and Lucian's dialogues in Greek. There was also a Greek dictionary, and Elyot's dictionary, the latter valued at one shilling, and Adrianus "de modo latine loquenda."

I have notes of many other documents illustrating the lives of printers and the history of printing down to the middle of the seventeenth century lying at the Record Office and Somerset House; but I believe the place where we must look for the most valuable records of the early printers is amongst the records of the Corporation of the City of London. From the

Barbican east, to Fleet Street west, was all within the jurisdiction of the City, and it was within those limits that the great bulk of the printers were settled. Those records I have not yet seen, but I hope that what I have been able to lay before you to-night will prove to you that material exists for a fuller knowledge of the lives of the sixteenth century printers, that will well re-pay the labour of looking for it.

PYNSON *v.* SQUYR.

[STAR CHAMBER PROCEEDINGS. *Bundle 20. No. 267.*]

Deposition of Thomas Sutton.

Thomas Sutton, now of Chynkford in Essex, late of the paryssh of saint Clements without Temple barr, where he dwelt xxx yers, as he saith, sworn and examyned upon the bill of Ric^d^ Pynson and others, deposith and saith, that in Esterweke last past, he come to se his old neighburs into the said parissh, and so he, and Ric^d^ Pynson, and his wif, and divers others, went to the hous of oon Willm strenger in the said parissh, and there drank and made mery, untill it was so that oon come in whom this deponent knoweth not, and said to the said Ric^d^, Ric^d^ I advis the to goo wisly home, for ther be folke laid in a wayte to hurt [thee?] in the strete, and therwith the wif of the said Iohn (?) Pynson wept, and this deponẽt as he saith, bade her be not aferd and said, with goddes grace your husband shalbe brought home to his hous in saftie, and so thei paid for there drinks and come forth at doore / and anoon there were boyes that threw stones in the strete, and this deponent rebuked them, and callid them knaves . and with that stepped forth an* hostler with a sworde, and asked this deponent whom he callid knaves, and this deponent tooke him, as he saith fast by the bosom and bade him put up his sword and keep the kings peax . and as thei were together so come Henry Squyer with a bill in his hand, and bade this deponent loose his hand from the said hostiler, and this deponent

* MS. *and.*

as he saith, answered agen that the hostler was disposid to breke the peax. but for al that the said Henry Squyer causid this deponēt to lete the said hostler goo. and then spake the same Henry Squyr to Ric^d pynson stonding at his door and said, wele knave we shall ordaign for the wele inough. this is thi worke. and anon were there come to the said Henri many folks with weapons, and some of thaim ranne in at oon Halis house and there fetched out formes, with which thei ranne at menys dores to breke them up. And thei wold have renne at the door of Ric Pynson, but that they were letted bi gentlemen of court that come then by. What thei entendid this deponent can not tell as he saith he saw neither the bailif of Savoye, neither [the] vicar the bocher there at that time by his oth made.

JOHN RASTELL *v.* HENRY WALTON.

[COURT OF REQUESTS. HENRY VIII. *Hunts Series. Bundle 8. Nos. 14 and 229.*]

I.

Humbly complaynyth unto your gracious highnes your pore orator and humble subiect John Rastell, that where your seyd orator delyvered to one Henry Walton certeyn parcells of stuff and goods to the value of xx marks savely to kepe to the use of your seyd orator, that is to sey, A pleyers garment of grene sarcenet lyned with red Tuke and with Roman letters styched upon it of blew and red sarcenett, and an other garment paned with blewe and grene sarcenet lynyd with red bokeram, and an other garment paned lykewyse and lyned as the other with a cape furred with white Catts, and an other garment paned with yelowe, grene, blew, and red sarcenet, and lyned with red bokeram. An other garment for a prest to pley in, of red Saye and A garment of red and grene Saye, panyd and gardyd with golde skynnes, and fustyans of Naples black, and sleved with red, green, yelow, and blewe sarcenet, And an other garment, spangled of blew saten of bryges, And lyned with grene sarcenet. Also

ij old shorte garments, payned of saten bryges and of sarcenet of Dyuers Colours in the bodyes. Also a womans garment of grene and blewe sarcenet, chekred and lyned with red bokeram, also ij capps of yelowe and red sarcanet, and ij curtens of grene and yelowe sarcenet. Also ij long brode peces of blewe lynen cloth, with lyre in them. Also iij peces of open sylvered lynen clothes, Also an long brode pece of red bokeram. Which seyd stuff and goods the seyd Walton promysyd to delyver agayn to your said orator, whensoever he should be, by your said orator, therto requyred. Whych said stuff and goods, after the said delyery to hym made, the seyd Walton occupyd at his pleasure, by the space of halff a yere and more, duryng the time that your said orator was in the partees beyonde the see, in Fraunce. After whose commyng home your seyd orator demandyd of the seyd Walton relyue of the said stuff and goods, to whom the said Walton answerd and seyd, that he wold bryng hym home the said goods and stuff, yet that notwithstondyng he brought to hym no parte thereof, but drove hym forth from tyme to tyme, by the space of ij or iij weks, duryng which tyme the said Walton, unknowyng to your said orator, which was euery day contynually in the said cyte, and constantly in company with the said Walton, craftely, falsly, by the subtell advyse and counsell of a clerk of the Mayre's Courte in the Cyte of London, and by a Serjant of the same court, enteryd a fals feynyd pleynt, put in byll in the said courte, agaynst your said orator, supposying that your said orator shuld owe to the said Walton xl*s*. sterling, wherein indede your said orator owyd hym never a peny, and by the custome of the said Cyte, made attachment of the said goods and stuff beyng in hys own hands, and causyd that one John Wylkynson, playsterer, and one Thomas Curttees, were assyned to be prysors, which Wilkynson, at the request and desyre of the seyd Henry, prysyd the seyd goods and stuff, but to the value of xxxv*s*. ix*d*., which goods and stuff at that time were well worth xx marks and aboue. Appon which prysement the said Henry had jugement to recover the saide goods and stuff, for the which your said orator can never haue remedy by course of the commyn lawe, and though your said orator within the yere

did put in surete to answer to the said pleynt and byll, and to disprove the said accion, yet your said orator coude neuer, nor shall neuer by the order of the commyn Lawe, there recover agayn the said stuff and goods; but shall recover no more for them, but only the somme wherfore they were prysed, which is but xxxv*s*. ix*d*. as is beforesaid, and so hath and shall by such falsehode, subtelte, and dysseyn of the said Walton, and of the said Wylkynson and Curteys, whych were prysers, lose* xi or xii^{li} or above, and is without remedy therfore for ever, except your gracious highnes be shewd to hym in this behalf. In consyderacion whereof it may please your grace and your most honorable counsell to command one of your offycers of arms to goo to the seyd Henry Walton and to the seyd John Wylkynson, and Thomas Curteys, and to command them in your name, to appere before your grace and your honorable counsell at Westminster, there to answere to the premysses and ther to be dyrected accordyng to ryght and good conciens, and your said orator and subject shall dayly pray for the preseruacion of your royall estate long to endure.

(Signed) JOHES RASTELL.

II.

The Answer of Henry Walton to the byll of Complaynt of John Rastall Gentilman |

The seid Henry Walton by protestacion seith, that the seid goods in the byll of complaynt of the said John Rastall mencyonyd, be not of so great value as in his said bill of complaynt is supposyd. And seith that the seid bill of complaynt is incerten, and insufficient in the law to be answeryd unto, and the matter therein conteignyd fayned, and craftely ymagyned, to th' entent to put the seid Henry Walton to great costs and expencys. Nevertheles, for answer and declaracion of the trowthe, the seid defendent saieth, that it apperith by the byll of the seid complaynaunt, that he hathe no cause of accion in this honorabill courte, for it appereth by his byll of complaynt, that the said goods be recoueryd in

* MS. *losse*.

the Kyngs Courte holdyn before the Mayre and Aldermen of the Citie of London accordinge to the custome of the seid citie. And furder the defendent sayeth, that he brought an accion of debt ayenst the said John Rastall of xl*s*. in the seyd courte, And he, the seyd Henry Walton, havyng in his own kepyng the seyd goods, in the seyd byll of complaynt supposyd, attachyd theym in his owne hands, accordyng to the custome of the seid citie, which goods wer afterwards, by the commaundement of the said courte, by the seyd John Wylkynson and Thomas Curtes wer praysed at xxxv*s*. ix*d*. And wher the said John Rastall, in his said bill of complaynt, seyth that the goods aforeseid wer praysed mych under theyr value, the seid Henry Walton seyth that they were praysed to as myche as they at the tyme of the praysment were worth. And wher the said complaynaunt in his seid bill of complaynt seyth that he oweth not the seid defendent the said xl*s*., and is without remedye. The seid Henry Walton wyll averr that the said John Rastall owyth hym the seid xl*s*. And also the seyd Henry seyth that the seyd John Rastall myght have come in to the seyd courte, holdyn byfore the Mayre and Aldermen aforeseyd, within the yere and the daye, according to the custome, and ther to have put in sureties, and so to have dissolved the attachement, but hathe sufferyd and s . . . psyd his tyme. And the seid Henry Walton shall averr that the seyd goods wer of no more value than they wer praysed at, for they were rotten and torne players' garments. Wythout that that the seyd Henry Walton craftely or falsly, and by subtyll avyse of his counsell, commensyd the seyd accion ayenst the seyd John Rastall in manner and forme as he in his said bill untruly hath alledgyd. And without that that any thyng beyng materiall or effectuall in the seid byll, otherwise then in the said aunswer of the seid Henry is alledgyd ys true, And in as myche as the seid goods be lawfully recoveryd in the Kyngs Courte, holdyn byfore the mayre and Aldermen in the Citie of london aforesayd, beyng a Courte of Record, the which recorde cannot be undon without error or attaynt, therfore the seid Henry Walton praieth to be dismyssyd owte of this honorabyll courte, with his resonabyll costis and expensis for his wrongfull vexacion &c.

III.

The replycacion of John Rastell to the Answer of Henry Walton.

The said John Rastell seyth, that his said byll is trewe, and certayne, and suffycyent to be answerd unto, and matter determynable in this honorable courte, and wyll aver every thyng to be trewe contayned in the said byll off compleynte, and that the said answere is uncertayne and insuffycyent to be answered unto, and matter feynyd and untrewe. And forther sayth, that the said John Rastall as sone as he had knowlege that the said Walton had commensyd the said Accion of Dett of xl*s*. in the said mayres courte in London, the said Rastell came in to the said courte and there put in suretie to the said Accion. Wheruppon the said Walton declared agaynst the said Rastell, that the said Rastell shuld owe to the said Walton xl*s*., for that that the said Rastell confessyd hym selff in the said cyte of London, to owe to the said Walton xl*s*., to the whyche the said Rastell answerd and tendyd hys law, accordyng to the custome of the said cyte, that he owyd no thyng to the said Walton in manner and forme as the said Walton agaynst hym declared, Whereby the said Walton perseyvyd that uppon the said plee and tender, his said accion shuld be dyssolued, demurryd in law uppon the same plee, whiche demurrer what for lake, that the recorder of the said cyte and other counsellors can have no convenyent tyme to argue the said matter, and also for lake that the counsell for the said Walton was not redy when the said matter of law shuld be argued, the said matter as yet doth depend ther undyscussyd. But yet the said John Rastell sayth, that if the said matter be dyscussyd and juggyd for the said Rastell, as undowtydly it wyll be, yet the said Rastell, by the custome of the said cyte, shall never recover agayn hys said goods, nor stuff, but only xxxv*s*. ix*d*. for the said stuff, so that in the said court he hathe no other remedy nor recorde to ponysshe the said Walton, nor the said praysers for theyr said dysseyt and falsehod in praysyng of the said goods and stuff at xxxv*s*. ix*d*., which were worth at that tyme xx mark and aboue, as in the said byll off compleynte is alegyd, for the grete parte of the

said goods were garments of sylke and other stuffe, ffreshe and newly made, with mooche workmanshype done upon them, to the grete cost and charge of your said orator, without that that the said goods were at the tyme of the said praysment of no more value than they were praysyd at. And without that that thei were gan rottyn and torn players garments, for the said Rastell seyth that the said Walton hath lettyn them owt to hyre to dyvers stage-pleys and interludys, and hath reseyvyd and had for the hyre of them syth the said praysement of them the somme of xx nobles and above. And without that that any other thyng materyall or effectuall in this said answere aleggyd necessary to be replyed unto is true. All whych matters your said orator is redy to prove and aver, as this court wyll awarde, and prayeth as he prayed in his said byll.

IV.

The parcells confessyd by Walton.

	In primis. A pleyers garment of grene, lyned with red tuke and with roman letteres styched uppon hyt, of blew and red sarcanet - -	viii yards. xxiis.
fysshpole	*Item.* One other garment, paned with blew and grene sarcanet, lyned with red bokeram - -	vii yards. xxs.
fysshpole	*Item.* An other garment, paned lykewyse, and lyned as the other, with a cape furred with whyte catts - - - - - - - -	vii yards. xxs.
Fysshepole	*Item.* An other garment, payned with yelow, grene, red, and blew sarcenet, and lyned with old red bokeram - - - - - - - -	viij yards. xxijs.
	Item. An other garment, for a preste to pley in, of red saye - - - - - - - -	xii yards. iiijs.
	Item. A garment of red and grene saye payned and garded with gold skynnes lyned with red bokeram - - - - - - - -	xii yards saye and vii yards bokeram. viijs.

Item. A shorte garment of gold skynnes and fustyan, of Naples black, and sleved with red, grene, yelowe, and blue sarcenett - - -	
Item, An other garment, spangled of blew saten of breges, and lyned with grene sarcanett - -	xx*s.* it hath cost Rastell.
Item, ij olde shorte garments, paned of saten of breges, and of sarcenett of divers colors in the bodyes - - - - - - - -	xx*s.*
Item, a woman's garment, of grene and blew sarcanet, chekked and lyned with red bokeram	xxiiij*s.*
Item, ij capps, of yelow and red sarcanett - -	iij*s.* iiij*d.*
Item, ij curtayns, of grene and yellow sarcanett -	xx yards. l*s.*
Item, ij peces of blew lynen cloth with lyre in them - - - - - - - - -	lxvij yds. xv*s.*
Item, iij peces of old sylvered lynen clothes -	x*s.*
Item, An old remnant of red bokeram, that was in a box in my lord Cardynalls great chamber -	xxx yds. vj*s.* viij*d.*

Intterogatoryes for Fysshpole.

Im primis. Whether Fysshpole know any of the seyd garments.

Item, Whether Fysshpole made the ij long garments of sarcenet down to the grownd, and one grene gowne to the fall of the legg, with wyde slevys of sarcenet, and whether euery of them conteynyd not seven or viij yards of sarcenet, and whether euery of them were not better than xx*s.* a pece, and whether if such garments were made of new stuff, wold not have cost almost twys as moch money.

Item, whether that Fysshpole made not a woman's gown of sarcenett of small peces, and whether it was not worth xx*s.* and better.

Item, whether he made not ij other garments with wyde sleves of smalle pecis, and whether they were not worth xx*s.* or a mark a pese.

Item, how long Fysshpole was a makyng of them, and whether he had not the whyle iiij*d*. a day and mete and drynke, and whether Rastells wyf hathe holp hym to sow them.

Item, whether Walton hath not the same garments lent to hym by Rastell, and whether Walton hath not continually this iiij yere, lett them to hyre for stage plays and interludes, above iij or iiij skore tymes, and what he usyd to have for a stage play, and what for an interlude, and how mych money he hath won therby.

Item, what the short spangled garment of blewe saten of bryges was worth and what euery other garment and pese was worth.

V.

*Interrogatorye ex parte Rastell.**

Item, Whether about iij or iiij yers now past, about whych tyme the kyngs grete banket was at Grenewych, whych this deponent saw, the seyd garments were occupyed there, some in dyvers stage pleys and interludis, by the lettyng to hyre by Walton, as it was reportyd, and at that tyme they were fresshe, and new and semyd lytyll the wors for any weryng of them before.

VI.

Deposicions for the partie of John Restall against Henry Walton.

[Deposition of William Fishpole.]

William ffisshepole of london taillour of the age of lx yeres and above, sworne and examyned upon his othe, sayeth that he made ij long gownes downe to the growne, of sarcenet, oon of them of blewe and yelowe sarcenet, lyned with rede tuke or rede bokram, whether of the same lynyng

* This interrogatory, which accounts for the additions to the depositions of George Mayller and George Byrche, is on a single sheet but has no signature. On the back of it is this note in another handwriting :—" The cause why that Rastell made his boke off purgatory without Aleggyng Any texts of holy scripture. I marvell gretely that my broder Fryth doth hold this."

he now remembreth not, and a nother of grene sarcenet, but whether it were lyned or not he remembreth not nowe, whiche gownes commyng to hym in peces conteigned in every pece vj ells or therabouts. And also he sayth that if he shuld have bought out of the mercers shoppe every ell wold have cost v*s*., and he sayth that every gowne, was worth xx*s*. and above. And also he sayth that he made a garment for a galant with wyde sleves, the oon side of rede and yelow sarcenet, and the other side blewe and rede lyned with rede tuke or rede bokeram, which was a costly* garment, better than xx*s*. And if thay had been bought of new stuff it wold have cost moche more money. And also he sayth he made a woman's gowne of sarcenet, blewe and yelow, as he remembreth, and it was made in quarells or losenges he remembrith not whether, and was a besy work, and Maistres Restall did help to sowe that, and parte of the galants gowne also. And it was lyned with rede tuke or bokeram and garnysshed with golde skynnes, as he remembrith, and it was better than xx*s*. and it was worth a noble the making. And how long he was in making of them he remembreth not, but he had iiij*d*. by the day, mete and drinke. And further he sayth, that he hath hard saye that the said Restall lent to Walton the said garments, and that he used them in stage pleys. And further he sayth that there was a short spangeled garment of blew saten of briges, and was lyned with grene sarcenet, whiche was better than any of the other garments, whiche he made not, but every oon of them, oon with another, were better than xx*s*., and more he knoweth not herin.

(Signed) per me Wylliam Ffychpolle.

VII.

[Deposition of George Mayler.]

George Mayler of London, merchauntaillour, of the age of xl yeres, sworne and examyned upon his othe, sayth that he knew the said garments, but how many there be in nombre he remembrith not, for he hath occupied and played in tham by the lending of Walton, and he sayth thay ware worth

* MS., *gostly*.

xx*s*. a pece and bettre, And he sayth he knoweth well that he lent tham out about a xx tymes to stage playes in the sommer and interludes in the winter, and used to take at a stage play for them and other, sumtyme xl*d*., sometyme ij*s*., as they couth agree, and at an interlude viij*d*. for every tyme. But how many tymes he perfitely knoweth not, but by estimacion xx tymes a yere in interludes. And he sayth that he hath seen the curteyns of sarcenet, but how many ells thay conteyned he knoweth not, but it was worth xl*d*. every ell, and he sayth that he had bokeram and tuke, but how many yerdes he knoweth not, but it was better than ij*d*. a yerde,* and further he sayth that the somer whan the kings banket was at grenewiche he sawe the same garments occupied in diverse stage pleyes and* occupied parte of them himself by the lending of other players . that Walton had lent them to to hire, whiche than were freshe and litill worse for the waring and more he knoweth not.

(Signed) per me george Mayllor.

VIII.

[Deposition of George Birch.]

George Birche of London, Coriar, of the age of xxxij yeres or thereabouts, sworne and examined sayth, that he knewe well a players garment lyned with red Tuke and stiched with romayne letteres upon it of blew and rede sarcenet, Another garment paned with blew and grene sarcenette lyned with rede bokeram, and another garment paned with yelowe, grene, red, and blew sarcanet, lyned with olde rede bokeram, another garment spangeled of blew saten of Briges, lyned with grene sarcenet, and a womans gowne or garment of grene and blew sarcenet, chekked and lyned with red bokeram, in whiche garmints this deponent and his company played in while thay remayned in the hands of the said Restall. And he sayth that every garment, oon with another, were worth twentie shillinges, and that Walton

* Mayler's affidavit originally ended here; the words "and more he knoweth not" having been written and struck out, and the signature "per me George Meyller" deleted, interrupting the text where the second asterisk is here placed.

did lette out the same garments to hire to stage playes and enterludes sundry tymes, but how many tymes he knoweth not, And further he sayth that the common custume is att an Enterlude viij*d*. for the garments, and at a stage play as the parties can agree. And he sayth if they had been made of newe stuff they had been moche more worth, And he sayth he sawe the curteyns of sarcenet, but how many ells they were he knoweth not, but every ell was worth iij*s*. And further he sayth that iij or iiij yeres past whan* the kinges banket was at Grenewiche that sommer he saw the said garmentes played in iij or iiij tymes by the lendyng of the said Walton, and at that tyme they semyd freshe and good garmentes, and more he knoweth not.

(Signed) per me george byrche.

IX.

[Deposition of John Redman.]

John Redman of London, stacioner, of the age of xxii yeres, sworne and examyned upon his othe, sayth, that he knewe the said garmentes, but how many was of them he remembrith not, and this deponent playde in the same diverse tymes whan Walton had tham, but what they were worth he knoweth not, but they were litill worse than newe. And this Deponent sayth that he knoweth that the said Walton divers tymes lent them out, but what hire he had for them he knoweth not, neither in stage play nor in interludes, but as to the vj garmentes, that is to saye iiii gownes of sarcenet, a womans gown and a spangeled garment, they were good, fresshe, and litill the worse for the occupyeng, whan he knew them first in Waltons hands, and by estimacion they were worth xx*s*. a pece, for they were lyned and garded parte with gilt leder, and the curteyns of silk were freshe and newe, and there were garments of dornyke and saye, whiche he well remembreth, and more he can not saye.

per me John Redman.

* The same deleted words "and more he knoweth not" and "per me George Byrche" show that Birch's original affidavit also ended here.

IX.

* *The interrogatories of Henry Walton againste John Rastall whereupon witnessys to be examined.*

Ffirst, Whether the said John Restall dyd owe any suche somme of money as within the Aunswere of the said Walton is alleged and submitted.

Item, Whether the seid Walton made lawfull attachment of suche goods as are comprised within the bill of complaynte of the seid John Rastall.

Item, Whether the said goods where indifferently praysed by indifferent persons electe and chosen by lawfull officers within the citie of London to be praysors there.

Item, What and how muche of valew the said goods were praysed unto.

Item, Whether the seid goods were lawfully recovered by the custome and lawe of the seid citie of London.

Item, Whether the seid goods were delivered unto the above named Henry Walton by lawful officers of the same citie of London.

Item, Whether the said goods were of any more valew or substaunce than thei were praysed unto.

Item, Whether the seid goods were fresshe and new as is surmized uniustely by the bill of complaynte of the seid Rastall.

X.

Deposicions for the partie of Henry Walton against John Restall.

[Deposition of William Knight.]

William Knight of London, laten founder, of the age of lvj yeres, sworne or examyned upon his othe, sayth that Walton did make of new for stages and stage players as moche as by estimacion, estemed by this

* This leaf is endorsed on the back: "The interrogatories of henry Walton.
Willm. Knight
Nicholas Sawyer
Roger Taillor
Thomas Curtes } of london."

Deponent and William Sayer at lx. in bourde, tymbre, lath, nayle, sprigge and daubing, whiche the said Restall shuld have payed to the said Walton by thaire arbitrement whiche were chosen indifferently by them bothe, and than Restall sayed it was to moche, and aftrewards the said Restall arrested the same Walton, and moche besynes was bitwene them, and as to the seconde, iijrd, iiijth, vth, and vjth Interrogatories, he knoweth no thing, And to the vijth and last article he sayth, that the said Restall had certain garments for players whiche were made of old sarcenet, but how many he knoweth not, nor he dothe not exteme the value of them nor any of them, and more he knoweth not.

(Signed) per me Wylliam knyght.

XI.

[Deposition of Nicholas Sayer.]

Nicholas Sayer of London, skynner, of the age of xlix yeres or thereabouts, sworne and examyned upon his othe sayeth, that he and William Knight were desired by the said Restall and Walton, being at the Mytor in Chepe, to view such costs as the said Walton had doon in making of stage for player in Restalls grounde beside Fyndesbury, in tymbre, bourde, nayle, lath, sprigge, and other thyngs. Whiche they estemed and juged at lx. that Restall shuld paye to the said Walton, and upon payment of the same lx., the said Walton to rendre suche garments as he had in his keping to the said Restall, And he sayth he sawe the garments, and there were noon of them of new stuf to his knowlege,* nor what the value of tham were and more he knoweth not.

(Signed) per me Nicholum Sayer.

XII.

[Deposition of Roger Taillor.]

Roger Taillor of London, laten foundor, of the age of xl yeres, sworne and examyned upon his othe, he saythe, he made parte of the said players garments, and some of tham ware made of Saye and somme of sarcenet,

* The words "and more he knoweth not" deleted here.

which were not at that tyme of new stuf, for they had been occupied in other besynes, and thay were occupied iij or iiij yeres in playeing and disguysings or they cam to the hands of the said Walton. * or before any variaunce was bitwene them for the same, and as to the value of them he cannot esteme nor juge. And more he cannot saye herin.

(Signed) per me Roger taylor.

XIII.

[Deposition of Thomas Curteys.]

Thomas Curteys of London, glasyere, of the age of liiij yeres, sworne and examyned upon his othe, sayth that the said Walton made attachement of xv playeng garments, and therupon this deponent and oon John Wylkynson, were commaunded by the Maires clerc, called John Edmaye, to appreyse the same garments indifferently. Whiche the said Deponent and John Wylkynson after thair conscience preysed to the uttremost value of them, and the †value or somme ammounted unto xxxv*s.* ix*d.*, and he and the said Wilkynson delivered a bille thereof to the said Clerc of the the Maires Court, and he thinkith that aftre the custume of the Citie of London the said Walton lawfully recovered the same, but how they were delivered to the said Walton he knoweth not, And further he sayth that at the tyme of the said appreysement the said garments were old and torne, so that than they were not hable to be worne nor occupied, And also he sayth he wold have be lothe to have geven so moche for them as they were praysed at, and more he knoweth not.

[The mark of Thomas Curteys.]

* The words "by attachment" deleted in MS.

† The words "he now remembreth not" deleted in MS.

XIV.

[Deposition of John Wilkinson.]

John Wilkinson of London, plasterer, of the age of xxxiij yeres or therabouts, sworne and examyned sayeth, that he was commaunded by John Edmay, the mayres officer, to appreyse certain olde playeng garments, whiche were broken and torne, som of them of sarcenet and somme of saye, and othr whiche he now remembrith not, And that he and Thomas Curteys appreysed the said garments and stuf at xxxv or xxxvj*s*. ix*d*., whiche in his conscience were no bettre worth, nor he wold not have gladly geven so moche for them, and more he knoweth not.

(Signed) Jhon Wylkynsun.

THE WILL OF JOHN REYNES.

Prerogative Court of Canterbury *(23 Pynnyng.)*

In the name of God Amen the yere of our Lorde god a thousand fyve hundreth forty and three, the eight day of April and the xxxiiii^th^ yere of our soveraigne Lorde King henry the eight. I John Raynes Citizen and Stacioner of London being of hole mynde and in good and perfytt remembraunce, lawde and prayse be unto allmighty god, make and ordeyne this my present testament concernyng herein my last wyll in maner and forme folowing, that ys to say. Fyrste I principally commende my soule unto allmighty god Chryst Jesu my maker and Redemer and to the most gloryous virgyn his mother our lady saynt Mary and to all the holy company of heven and only put my trust in our Lorde Christ Jesus blessed passion and habundant mercy for my salvacyon. And my carcase to be buryed in Pardon church yarde by Joane Raynes my wif wythout any pompe. *Item* I bequeathe to the person [parson] of Saint Ffaythes iij*s*. And also to my Curat iij*s*., and to the clerk xij*d*. for to pray for my soule and all christen soules. *Item*. I bequeath to my servants. *In primis* to Thomas

Holwarde a hundreth shillings in bokes. *Item* I bequeathe to Agnes Dawkyns forty shillings in money. And to Jamys my dutchman twenty shillings in money. And also to Edward Wright ten pounds in bokes. And to Edward Sutton a hundreth shillings in bokes. And to Robert Holder other ten poundes in bokes by equall porcyons not that one shall take what he will, but take parte of all sorts to the som. And they two Thomas Holwarde and Edward Sutton whan they have layd out all their parts to the value of v^{li} a pece after the price as Arnold and John Bryckman doo sell them to London to the booksellers also by equall porcyon. So that they also take parte of all sortes oute of my store chambers immedyatly as they shall come oute of theyr tyme and have servyd theyr Mistres truely oute theyr tyme and she to make them free men of the City of London uppon theyr coste. *Item* Edward Wryght and Rober [*sic*] holder I wyll that they two shall helpe their Mres [Mistress] two yeres long after my departyng, and they to helpe her to pay my creditors and to gather in my debts that other men doo owe me, because they knowe best myn handelyng and for to helpe her for to sell her bokes that I shall leve her after that myn legacye shalbe payd of the sayd bokes. *Item* also I wyll that Edward Wryght and Rober [*sic*] holder shall have the sayd two yeres that they two shall serve theyr Mastres truly eche of them the same wages as I did give and have promised Edward syns he came oute of his tyme besides their legacy. And yf Edward Wryght and Robert holder be disposed for to bye my stock by days, withall my instruments, and all that belongeth to my science putting in good suertyes for to pay quaterly and that wyth favor after the discrecyon of myn executrice. That then they shall have the preminence afore any other man. And the money that shall com of my bokes, I wyll that thone parte shalbe distributed to the poor housholders at Saint Ffaythes And that other parte to my executrice luce my wif for her labor for to see yt godly distributed after her discrecyon where most nede is. And this shalbe don quarterly, as she shall receve her payment at the last payment when all is payd. *Item* I bequeath to my brothern the Stacyoners that they shall com to my buryall and to the masse, for to make

them a brekfast twenty shillings. *Item* I make and ordeyne Luce Raynes my sole executrice of this present testament and last wyll she so to dispose yt according to her soule and my soule and all our frendes soules and accordyng to good conscience in discharniging [*sic*] her of the same. *Item* I make and ordeyne myn overseers of this my present testament Mr. Thomas Dockrey and John Lewes bothe notaryes, and I bequeath eche of them twenty shillings in money for their labor. *Item* also all them that dothe owe me any money or ware yf they be not hable for to pay myn executrice, I wyll that my wyf shall forgyve yt them yf they desyre yt of her for goddes sake. In wyttnes whereof to my present testament and my last wyll, I the sayd John Raynes have wryten this present testament wyth myn own hande and have sett my seale to yt geven the day and yere above wryten wyth thies wittness here wryten. God save the Kyng.

Proved 26th February 1544 by Lucy Raynes . relict and executrix.

BOOKS IN WILL. RASTELL'S HOUSE IN SERJEANT'S INN, FORFEITED TO THE CROWN BY HIS LEAVING THE COUNTRY, 4TH ELIZ., 1561–2.

An Abridgement in paper of the Lawe - -	valued at	2*s.*
The Yeres of Edward the Third - - -	„	x*s.*
The yeres of Henry the 7th 7 Richard the third - -	„	iiij*s.*
Edward the 4th - - - - -	„	v*s.*
The Booke of Assises - - - -	„	iij*s.* iiij*d.*
h[enry] the 7th - - - - -	„	iiij*s.*
h[enry] the forth & Edward the 5th - - -	„	v*s.*
The Abridgmett of the Statuts - - -	„	iij*s.* iiij*d.*
One part of the abridgement of pinsons - -	„	11*d.*
Richard the second - - - -	„	ij*s.*
One booke of livye - - - -	„	iij*s.* iiij*d.*

Famlor[1] & Ewclidus mathematicall - - -	valued at	xx*d.*
Eusebye hystoryes triptita - - - -	„	ij*s.*
Sermones Augustine in a lardg volume - -	„	xvj*d.*
Novum Testamentũ grece & latin - - -	„	xx*d.*
Horase with a commentary - - - -	„	xij*d.*
Divers bookes pertaynyng to the lawe and other matters -	„	ij*s.*
P[l] [Parliament] of Edward the Third - - -	„	iij*s.* iiij*d.*
Statutz from h[enry] the 3 to h[enry] the 8 .... -	„	iiij*s.*
The Salter in Greke - - - -	„	viij*d.*
A dixonary of Eliot - - - -	„	xij*d.*
Eneidos Virgilius in ffrenche - - -	„	xij*d.*
A dixonary in greke - - - -	„	viij*d.*
Horasse & Tullye de oratore - - -	„	xij*d.*
The testament in ffrenche - - - -	„	viij*d.*
Winchesters booke against Buser[2] - - -	„	vj*d.*
The old abridgment of the statuts - - -	„	iiij*d.*
Euripides in Lattyn & greke - - -	„	xij*d.*
Thabridgment of the Booke of Assises & p̄ lyns [Parliaments]	„	xij*d.*
Magna carta & thabridgement of the statutes - -	„	viij*d.*
Littletons tenures & tractatus da legibus - -	„	vij*d.*
Illucidarius po[e]ticus[3] - - - -	„	iiij*d.*
Adrianus de modo latine loquenda - - -	„	ij*d.*
The great abridgement of the statutes - - -	„	iij*s.* iiij*d.*
The Bible wryten in parchment - - -	„	ij*s.*
De borboni[4] & lucians dialogue in greke - -	„	vj*d.*
Stamfords booke of the [Pleas ?] - - -		
Divers books of the Statuts in parchment - -	„	ij*d.*

[*Three other entries illegible.*]

1. ? *Formulare instrumentorum.*
2. *Stephani Winton* [Bishop Gardiner's] *ad Martinum Bucerum Epistola.*
3. the *Elucidarius carminum et historiarum* of Torrentinus.
4. ? the *Nugae* of Nicolaus Borbonius.

JOHN BAGFORD AND HIS COLLECTIONS.

By W. Y. FLETCHER.

Read January 17th, 1898.

JOHN BAGFORD, the collector, was born about 1650. The exact date of his birth is uncertain, and was not known to himself, for, a short time before his death, which occurred in the year 1716, he informed Mr. James Sotheby that he was either sixty-five or sixty-six, he could not tell which. Thomas Hearne, the eminent antiquary, believed he was born in Fetter Lane, Fleet Street, but nothing seems to be known of his parents.

He appears to have been brought up as a shoemaker, for in a very curious and entertaining little treatise on the *Art of Shoemaking and Historicall Account of Clouthing of ye foot*, which is believed to have been written by him, and is now preserved among the Harleian manuscripts in the British Museum, the writer states that he was brought up to the "craft of Shoemaking." This trade, however, he soon abandoned for a more congenial occupation, and became a collector of books on commission for booksellers and amateurs. In pursuance of this work he paid several visits to the Continent, and acquired a great knowledge of books, prints and literary curiosities. He was specially employed by Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, Sir Hans Sloane, and John Moore, Bishop of Ely, whose library was

purchased by King George I, and presented by him to the University of Cambridge. His judgment, diligence and honesty appear to have been greatly appreciated by these distinguished collectors, and the last-named procured him, as some recompense for his services, admission into the Charterhouse. Bagford was also one of the little group of eminent men attached to the study of our national antiquities who reconstituted in 1707 the Society of Antiquaries. He died, according to a note by Dr. Birch, preserved among the Sloane manuscripts in the British Museum, "at Islington, a little before six in the morning of May 5th, 1716, and was buried on the following Monday in the churchyard belonging to the Charter House." Dr. Birch adds, "he left me some of his MS. papers, which may be of use to such as will take pains to extract good matter from a bad hand and worse orthography. Dr. Birch's writing was, if possible, worse than Bagford's.

Little is known of Bagford's domestic life, but he appears to have been married, for on the back of a leaf in one of the volumes of his collections we find the following memorandum, written with a black lead pencil in Bagford's own writing :—"John, son of John and Elizabeth Bagford was baptised 31st October, 1675, in the parish of St. Anne Blackfriars." This son seems to have become a sailor in the Royal Navy, for in another volume in the same collection there is a power of attorney, dated April 6, 1713, and signed by John Bagford, Junior, empowering his "honoured father John Bagford Senior, of the parish of St. Sepulchre, in the County of Middlesex, bookseller," to claim and receive from the Paymaster of Her Majesty's Navy, his wages as a seaman, in case of his death.

During his researches for his employers, Bagford amassed two great collections—one consisting of ballads, now known as the "Bagford Ballads," the other being a huge collection of title-pages and fragments of books, specimens of paper, catalogues, book-plates, drawings, engravings, bindings, advertisements, and various interesting and curious pieces. With the aid of these materials, Bagford intended to write a History of Printing,

and in 1707 he published his *Proposals for printing an Historical Account of that most universally celebrated, as well as useful Art of Typography.* The work was also to contain a history of book-binding, paper-making, etc The subscription was to be 10*s.*, and 10*s.* more on the delivery of a volume in folio, containing about 200 sheets, and no more than 550 copies, with a few on large paper, were to be printed. These *Proposals* are printed on a half-sheet, with a specimen on another, containing the *Life of William Caxton, first printer in the Abbey of Westminster*, and a list of his books. There are several copies of the *Proposals* in the British Museum, and we find that the views expressed in them respecting the invention of printing are by no means in accord with those of the present day. There is also in volume 25 of *The Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society, printed in 1707, a paper on the same subject, entitled "An Essay on the Invention of Printing, by Mr. John Bagford; with an account of his Collections for the same by Mr. Humphrey Wanley, F.R.S. Commmunicated in two letters to Dr. Hans Sloane, R.S.Sec." This treatise, Dibdin says, was drawn up by Wanley for Bagford.

The History of Printing was never published, and it has been often said that Bagford was quite incompetent to perform such a work as he proposed. This may possibly have been the case, for although he was certainly a man of much ability, and possessed a great knowledge of books, he had received but little education. On the other hand, however, Nichols in his *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, expresses his conviction that he was well qualified for the undertaking; and Hearne, who was by no means addicted to indiscriminate praise, repeatedly manifests in his works his admiration of both Bagford's genius and his collections, and he was anxious after Bagford's death—I quote his own words—"to have published a book from the collections, for the service of the publick, and the honour of Mr. Bagford." We must also not forget the valuable letter of twenty-nine pages by Bagford on the Antiquities of London, printed in the first volume of Hearne's edition of Leland's *Collectanea de Rebus Britannicis* and the interesting *Account of London Libraries*, commenced by Bagford,

and continued by Oldys—"names," says Mr. Thoms, who printed the complete work, "dear to every literary antiquary." Of the letter on the Antiquities of London, Hearne remarks "Mr. Bagford's skill in that Part of Roman History that immediately relates to Britain, is sufficiently evident from his curious Letter printed at the Beginning of Leland's *Collectanea*," and with regard to the little brochure on the London Libraries printed in 1708 in the second volume of *The Monthly Miscellany; or, Memoirs for the Curious*—the first rough draft of which is preserved among the Bagford Collections—I am sure everyone who has had occasion to make use of it will bear witness to its usefulness and accuracy. It is true these are comparatively small works, and a history of printing would have been a very formidable one, but I venture to think that the evidence I have quoted of Bagford's ability and industry shows that he was at least not quite so incompetent to perform the greater task as is generally supposed.

The method of compiling a history of printing from a collection of title-pages appears to be both a clumsy and a costly one, but it seems likely that Joseph Ames, the bibliographer, wrote his *Typographical Antiquities* with the aid of similar materials. In the diary of Oldys, there is an entry, dated August 29th, 1737, in which he states that on that day he "dined with Mr. Ames, and saw his collection of old title-pages," and a little later he tells us he "sent a letter to Mr. Ames, about the title of Mr. Lewis's Life of Caxton, and about the twenty hundred weight of waste books at 25*s*. per hundred weight." Were these the books from which the title-pages were taken which formed the collection seen by Oldys? My friend, Mr. Gordon Duff, has called my attention to the fact that these title-pages are also mentioned in the memoir of Ames, written by Richard Gough, the antiquary, prefixed to Herbert's edition of the *Typographical Antiquities*. Gough writes, "Mr. Ames's collection of title-pages to books, from 1474 to 1700, in three volumes, folio, with several bundles more, and of title-pages alphabetically arranged according to the place where printed, in two more folio volumes; a written title-page with a curious border, containing some thousand letters cut in wood, a folio volume, bound in Russia, were

purchased by Mr. Walpole; a collection of initial letters, from the beginning of printing, with some notes by Mr. Ames; and a catalogue of Caxton's books, portraits and devices of printers; making in the whole seven large portfolios, and three bundles, were purchased by Mr. West, and at his sale, 1773, by Mr. Bull."

Dibdin in a note to this in his edition of the *Typographical Antiquities* remarks, "They are at present in the collection of Miss Bull, a lady, who by the magnificence of her illustrated copy of the Bible, and other splendid works in her library, seems to have even eclipsed the book celebrity of her brother." It certainly appears from these extracts that Bagford's example was followed by Ames.

Wanley, in his account of Bagford's collections printed in the *Philosophical Transactions*, to which I shall have again occasion to refer, expresses his approval of the plan adopted by him. "These Title Pages of Books," he writes, "are really useful upon many Accounts; viz., as being authentic and exact; when as in most Catalogues, the Titles are abbreviated, and otherwise imperfect. Besides these Titles informed me of many Books I had never heard of before; and from them I have been enabled to enquire for several Books, some of which I have since procured to my great satisfaction."

I will conclude this portion of my subject with an interesting letter to Sir Hans Sloane from Bagford on his projected work :—

"From my Lodgings,
"July 24th, 1704.

"Worthy Sir,

"Since you honoured me with your good company for seeing printing "and card-making, I thought it my duty to explain myself to you per "letter on this subject. Till you had seen the whole process of card-"making, I thought I could not so well represent it unto you by writing—"for this I take to be the first manner of printing. In this short discourse "I have explained myself when I design to treat of it in the famous subject

"of the Art of Printing. It hath been the labour of several years past, "and if now I shall have assistance to midwife it into the world, I shall be "well satisfied for the sake of the curious. For these 10 years past I "have spared no cost in collecting books on this subject, and likewise "drafts of the effigies of our famous printers, with other designs that will "be needful on this subject. If this short account of the design of the "whole shall give you any satisfaction, I shall esteem my pains well "bestowed. Hitherto, I have met with no encouragement, but from three "reverend gentlemen of Bennet College in Cambridge, who generously of "their own accord, gave me 10 pounds each, which is all I ever received of "any person whatsoever. It may indeed be imputed to my own neglect, in "not acquainting the learned with my design, but modesty still keeps me "silent. I hope your goodness will pardon my impertinence. I shall be "ready at all times to give you any satisfaction you desire on this subject, "who am

"Honoured Sir,

"Your most humble Servant to command,

"Jo. BAGFORD."

In the present century, Bagford has been subjected to very severe censure for mutilating books for the purpose of forming his collection of title-pages. He has been called "the scourge of the book-world," and "a literary monster," and Mr. Blades, in his work on *The Enemies of Books*, expresses his disapprobation of his conduct in very strong terms. "But it is a serious matter," he writes, "when nature produces such a wicked old biblioclast as John Bagford, one of the founders of the Society of Antiquaries, who, in the beginning of the last century, went about the country, from library to library, tearing away title-pages from rare books of all sizes."

If this were true it is surprising Bagford did not end his days at Tyburn instead of the Charterhouse. Mr. Blades goes on to say, "These he sorted out into nationalities and towns, and so, with a lot of hand-bills, manuscript notes, and miscellaneous collections of all kinds, formed over a

hundred folio volumes, now preserved in the British Museum. That they are of service as materials in compiling a general history of printing cannot be denied, but the destruction of many rare books was the result, and more than counter-balanced any benefit bibliographers will ever receive from them. When here and there throughout these volumes you meet with titles of books now either unknown entirely, or of the greatest rarity; when you find the colophon from the end, or the 'insigne typographi' from the first leaf of a rare 'fifteener' pasted down with dozens of others, varying in value, you cannot bless the memory of the antiquarian shoemaker, John Bagford."

Dibdin, in *Bibliomania*, is almost as severe as Mr. Blades, although he afterwards somewhat modified his views on the subject. He writes:—"It has been my fortune (whether good or bad remains to be proved) not only to transcribe, and cause to be reprinted, the slender memorial of printing in the *Philosophical Transactions*, drawn up by Wanley for Bagford, but to wade through forty-two volumes, in which Bagford's materials for a History of Printing are incorporated in the British Museum; and from these I think I have furnished myself with a pretty correct notion of the collector of them. Bagford was the most hungry and rapacious of all book and print collectors; and, in his ravages, he spared neither the most delicate nor costly specimens. He seems to have expressed his astonishment at the most common productions; and his paper in the *Philosophical Transactions* betrays such simplicity and ignorance, that one is astonished how my Lord Oxford, and the learned Bishop of Ely, could have employed so credulous a bibliographical forager. A modern collector and a lover of perfect copies will witness with shuddering, among Bagford's immense collection of title-pages in the Museum, the frontispieces of the *Complutensian Polyglot* (I may mention there are no frontispieces in the *Complutensian Bible*, I presume Dr. Dibdin meant title-pages) and Chauncy's *History of Hertfordshire*, torn out to illustrate a History of Printing."

Now this is simply nonsense. How could Bagford, who was always a a very poor man, afford to buy a copy of the *Complutensian Polyglot*, which

even at that time was an expensive book, and could not be acquired for a few shillings like Caxtons and Wynkyn de Wordes. No doubt in his researches he picked up a fragment of the Bible, and took out the title-pages for his collection.

Dibdin admits that "Bagford's enthusiasm, however, carried him through a great deal of laborious toil; and that he supplied in some measure, by this qualification, the want of other attainments." "His whole mind," Dibdin adds, "was addicted to book-hunting, and his integrity and diligence probably made his employers overlook his many failings. His hand-writing is scarcely legible, and his orthography is still more wretched, but if he was ignorant, he was humble, zealous, and grateful, and he has certainly done something towards the accomplishment of that desirable object, an accurate General History of Printing."

Such are the opinions of Mr. Blades and Dr. Dibdin respecting Bagford—now let us see what Thomas Hearne says about him. Hearne, in describing the discovery of some old and valuable fragments, writes :—"It was, therefore, very laudable in my Friend Mr. John Bagford (who, I think, was born in Fetter Lane, London) to employ so much of his time, as he did, in collecting Remains of Antiquity. Indeed, he was a Man of very surprising Genius, and, had his education (for he was first a Shoemaker, and afterwards, for some time, a Bookseller) been equal to his natural Genius, he would have proved a much greater Man than he was. And yet, without this Education, he was, certainly, the greatest Man in the World in his way . . . 'Tis very remarkable, that, in collecting, his care did not extend itself to Books and to the fragments of Books only, but even to the very Covers, and to Bosses and Clasps; and all this, that he might, with the greater ease, compile the History of Printing, which he had undertaken, but did not finish. In this noble Work he intended a Discourse about Binding, . . . and another about the Art of making Paper, in both of which his Observations were very accurate. Nay, his skill in Paper was so exquisite, that at first view, he could tell the place where, and the time when, any Paper was made, tho'

at never so many years distance. I well remember that when I was reading over a famous book of Collections (written by John Lawerne, Monk of Worcester, and now preserved in the Bodleian Library) Mr. Bagford came to me (as he would often come thither on purpose to converse with me about Curiosities), and that he had no sooner seen the Book, but he presently described the time when, and the place where, the Paper, of which it consists, was made. He was indefatigable in his Searches, and was so ambitious of seeing what he had heard of, relating to his noble Design, that he made several journies into Holland to see the famous Books there. Nor was he less thirsty after other Antiquities, but, like old John Stow, was for seeing himself, if possible (although he travelled on foot), what had been related to him. . . . Mr. Bagford was as communicative as he was knowing: so that some of the chief Curiosities in some of our best Libraries are owing to him; for which reason it was, that the late Bishop of Ely, Dr. Moore (who received so much from him), as an instance of Gratitude, procured him a place in the Charter-House. I wish all Places were as well bestowed. For as Mr. Bagford was, without all dispute, a very worthy Man, so being a Despiser of Money, he had not provided for the Necessities of old Age. He never looked upon those as true Philosophers, that aimed at heaping up Riches, and, in that Point, could never commend that otherwise great Man, Seneca, who had about two hundred and fifty thousand Pounds Sterling, at use in Britain; the Loan whereof had been thrust upon the Britains whether they would or no. He would rather extol such Men as a certain Rector near Oxford, whose Will is thus put down in writing by Richard Kedermister, the last abbat but one of Winchcombe (Leland. *Collect.* vol. vi. 168), in the Margin of a book (I lately purchased) called *Hieronymi Cardinalis Vitas Patrum.* Lugd. mcccccii. 4°. 'Nihil habeo, nihil debeo, benedicamus Domino. Testamentum cujusdam rectoris, juxta Oxoniam decedentis circiter annum salutis, 1520.'. . . . Nor was Mr. Bagford versed only in our own Writers, but in those likewise of other Countries, particularly the Roman. His skill in that Part of the Roman History, that immediately relates to Britain, is sufficiently evident from his curious Letter printed at the

Beginning of Leland's *Collectanea*. That he might be the better acquainted with the Roman Stations, and the several Motions of the soldiers from one Place to another, he used to pick up Coyns, and would, upon occasion, discourse handsomely, and very pertinently, about them; yet he would keep none, but would give them to his Friends, telling them (for he was exemplarily modest and humble) that he had neither Learning nor Sagacity enough to explain and illustrate them, and that therefore, it was more proper that they should be in the possession of more able Persons . . . When he went abroad, he was never idle, but if he could not meet with Things of a better Character, he would divert himself with looking over Ballads, and he was always mightily pleased if he met with any that were old. Anthony à Wood made good Collections, with respect to Ballads, but he was far outdone by Mr. Bagford. Our modern Ballads are, for the most part, Romantick, but the old ones contain Matters of Fact, and were generally written by good Scholars. In these old ones were couched the Transactions of our great Heroes; they were a sort of Chronicles. So that the wise Founder of New College permitted them to be sung by the Fellows and Scholars of that College upon extraordinary days. In those Times, the Poets thought they had done their Duty when they had observed Truth, and put the Accounts they undertook to write, into Rhythm, without extravagantly indulging their Fancies. Nobody knew this better than Mr. Bagford; for which reason he always seemed almost ravished when he happened to light upon any old Rhythms, though they might not, perhaps, be so properly ranged under the Title of Ballads."

It should be borne in mind that this is the testimony of a man who knew Bagford well, and who was also amply qualified to judge both of his merits and demerits, while the views of Bagford's censurers are based upon a sentimental feeling, very commendable in itself, but not always accompanied by a full knowledge of the circumstances under which the collections were made. A great number of the title-pages and fragments are from books which could have been purchased in Bagford's days for a few shillings, if not for a few pence, and it is probable that many of these were

acquired by Bagford, when he took part in the book hunting expeditions of the Duke of Devonshire, the Earls of Oxford, Sunderland and other collectors, who amused themselves every Saturday during the winter in rambling through various quarters of the town in search of additions to their libraries. It is also just possible that a portion of them consisted of salvage from the great fire of 1666, when we know immense quantities of books were burnt or damaged. The collections no doubt contain fragments of such rare books as the Gutenberg Bible, various Caxtons and other early printed volumes, but it can be easily perceived in these instances, that they were not abstracted from the books by Bagford himself, but were odd leaves which he had managed to pick up; while the leather stains on some of the most valuable and rare of the fragments show that they once formed part of the padding of old bindings. And it must not be forgotten that title-pages and fragments of books form but a portion of these vast collections. They also contain, in addition to the ballads, an immense number of very interesting miscellaneous pieces.

While, as I have already observed, I cannot but think that with regard to the title-pages, Bagford's plan of obtaining materials for his intended work was a clumsy and costly one—although, as we have seen, it is more than probable that Ames adopted the same method for the compilation of his *Typographical Antiquities*—still it is difficult to come to any other conclusion than that he was a very remarkable man, and that he was actuated by an ardent love of books, although his way of showing it was certainly a little unfortunate. But whatever his faults and mistakes may have been, I do not think he can with justice be styled "a literary monster," nor "a wicked old biblioclast."

After Bagford's death, Hearne was very anxious to obtain the collections, but he was forestalled by Wanley, Lord Oxford's librarian, who acquired them for his employer's library, and they formed part of the Harleian Manuscripts which were purchased in 1753 for the British Museum.

Hearne was greatly annoyed that he had failed to secure the collections, and in his diary we find the following expression of his feelings on his loss:—"Humphrey Wanley also said, that he was the main instrument in getting Mr. Bagford's papers for Lord Harley, and that he laboured hard for them, and had like, nevertheless to have missed them. This was roguery. For they were certainly designed for me. But since they have got them, they ought to digest those about printing, and to publish them. This I mentioned to Wanley. But he said his accounts were very imperfect, and so put off the discourse, and seemed to declare that nothing of that nature could be done; himself, he said, being taken up with other affairs. I told him, had the papers come to me, I would have methodized them, and published a book from them, for the service of the public, and the honour of Mr. Bagford."

Wanley did not carry out Hearne's suggestion, but the account of the collections in his letter to Sir Hans Sloane, printed in the *Philosophical Transactions*, which I have already mentioned, shows he believed them to be of considerable value, for in addition to the portion I previously quoted, he adds:—"And it is my Opinion, that there are but few Curious Men, but, upon the View of this Collection, will own they have met with several Titles, or other Fragments of Books, in their several ways, which they knew not of before. And thus we see, that a single Leaf of Paper, tho' not valuable in its self; yet when come to be part of a Collection, may be of good use, not only in respect of the Matter it Treats of, but as to the Mark of the Paper, the Date, Printer's Name, Countrey, Title, Faculty, etc."

Wanley, however, does not appear to have secured the whole of Bagford's papers for Lord Oxford, for the Sloane Collection contains four volumes of MSS. and printed matter which belonged to him. The printed pieces have been recently taken out and bound separately in one volume. I am informed, too, by my friend Mr. Proctor, that the Bodleian Library has a number of Indulgences, some of which were collected by Bagford. These were given by him to Hearne, and they afterwards came into the possession of Dr. Richard Rawlinson, the non-juring bishop, who bequeathed them to the library.

The entire collections consist of about one hundred and twenty-nine volumes, including three volumes of ballads. I am obliged to say *about*, for it is somewhat doubtful whether some two or three of the volumes of fragments ever belonged to Bagford.

The volumes comprising the manuscript pieces are thirty-six in number, and are all folios. Those containing the printed pieces consist of sixty-three folios, twenty-one quartos, and nine octavos.

In going through the volumes, I noted some of their contents which appeared to be of special interest, and if I am not trespassing too greatly on your time and patience, I will venture to give a short account of them.

Among the larger and more important pieces in the manuscript collections are Bagford's "Common Place Book;" his "Book of Accounts;" his "Account of Public and Private Libraries;" "Collections in reference to Printing;" "Names of Old English Printers, with lists of the works which passed through their hands;" an "Account of Paper;" "Patents granted to Printers in England;" "Observations on the History of Printing;" "Lists of Books printed in Italy, France, etc.;" "Editions of the Bible in England;" "Lives of Famous Engravers," etc. The collections also contain a large number of fragments of early Bibles, service books, decretals, lives of saints, etc. These consist almost entirely of vellum, and some of them are as early as the eighth century. The leather stains on many of them show that they have been taken from old bindings. There is also a considerable quantity of manuscript copies of title-pages of printed books. These no doubt were made by Bagford's direction when he was unable to obtain the title-pages themselves.

Among the principal fragments in the volumes containing printed matter is a leaf, with illuminations, of the Gutenberg Bible; portions of *The Recuyell of the Histories of Troy; The Polychronicon; The Book of Fame; Life of St. Winifrede; Charles the Great; Blanchardyn and Eglantine;* and the Sarum *Ordinary*—all printed by Caxton. Of fragments of books from the press of Machlinia, the principal are from *A little book*

on the pestilence; the rare *Vulgaria Therencii*; two copies of a leaf from a *Donatus* (all that appears to exist of it); and seven leaves from a Sarum *Horæ*, printed on vellum about 1486. Other parts of this book are preserved in the libraries of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and Lincoln Cathedral, but no complete copy is known. Of books printed by Rood and Hunte at Oxford, are several leaves of Lattebury's *Lamentations of Jeremiah*, and a fragment of the *Liber Festivalis*. There are also a very large number of interesting fragments of books printed by Pynson, Wynkyn de Worde, and other early printers, both English and foreign, far too numerous to mention. But some very rare indulgences printed by Pynson; an apparently unique leaf of an edition of Alexander Barclay's *Castle of Labour*, by an unknown Paris printer; and a number of leaves of the Sarum *Missal*, printed at Venice in 1494, of which only one complete copy is believed to exist, deserve special notice. To these may be added the title-page of an edition of Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*, printed at London in 1602, by William Leake. The only copy known of this edition belongs to the Earl of Macclesfield.

The collection of maps is particularly valuable and interesting. Among other treasures is a map—sometimes, but rarely, found in Hakluyt's *Navigations and Discoveries of the English Nation*, printed in the years 1599 and 1600. This, no doubt, is the map alluded to by Shakespeare in Act iii, Sc. 2, of *Twelfth Night*, where he makes Maria say of Malvolio:—"He does smile his face into more lines than there are in the new map, with the augmentation of the Indies."

Two other priceless maps are a celestial and a terrestrial planisphere by John Blagrave of Reading, the mathematician, which are believed to be unique. These are probably the three most valuable pieces in the Bagford Collections, the Hakluyt map being certainly worth £200, and those by Blagrave a still larger sum.

Bagford also brought together a number of very curious documents relating to the Post Office. One of the most interesting of them is *An*

Advertisement from the General Penny Post Office, issued in or about the year 1685, giving a list of the places to which letters could be sent from or to London for a penny, and also specifying the number of deliveries.

In Islington and Holloway, letters were delivered five times daily; in Vauxhall, Lambeth, etc., four times; in Greenwich, Chelsea, Hammersmith, Kew and Richmond, twice; and in towns and villages at a greater distance, such as Rickmansworth, Wanstead, and Chigwell, once in the day.

Bagford appears to have been the earliest collector of book-plates. Among others, I noted the ex-libris of Elizabeth Pindar, with the date 1608; William Meryfield, June 22, 1650; two varieties of Samuel Pepys; three varieties of Sir Philip Sydenham; of Justinian Pagit; Sir Edward Bycole; Arthur Charlett; Thomas Kirke; and of Sir George Tempest.

The specimens of bindings, which fill a volume, ought not to be forgotten. They are all in beautiful condition, and consist almost entirely of English, French, and German stamped bindings of the 16th century. Among them are to be found bindings bearing the initials and devices of John Reynes, Julian Notary, Henry Jacobi, and Gerard von Graten.

The collections also contain a few proclamations; a great number of engravings of towns, monuments, costumes, trades, furniture, printing presses, etc.; catalogues of books, pictures and antiquities; early almanacks; curious advertisements of tobacco, tea, quack medicines, etc.; papers relating to London; proposals for printing various works; and many ornamental and grotesque alphabets and initial letters. There are also several volumes of specimens of Chinese, marbled and other papers; a number of paper-makers' marks; specimens of fine writing and shorthand; various legal forms—one for probate of a will, issued under Richard, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland; German and Italian rebuses; and many other miscellaneous papers. The collections also comprise some poetical pieces, and among them is Cocker's

Farewell to Brandy, printed in 1675, which would rejoice the heart of the most zealous total abstainer of the present day. Two of the lines run:—

> "He that with Brandy fills his wretched pate,
> All crimes, all villanies may perpetrate."

I ought to add that the collection of ballads has been edited by the Rev. Joseph Woodfall Ebsworth for the Ballad Society.

Such then are these remarkable collections, of which I have endeavoured to give some slight idea. The examination of them has afforded me much pleasure, although I must confess the sight of certain title-pages has occasionally somewhat lessened my enjoyment. While we may not be able to regard without regret the manner in which some portions of the collections were made, we must, I think, all acknowledge the marvellous industry and perseverance of the man who formed them.

I cannot conclude this paper without expressing my grateful thanks to my friends Mr. Coote and Mr. Proctor of the British Museum. The former gave me very valuable information respecting the maps in the collections, and the latter most kindly assisted me in identifying many of the early printed fragments.

In the discussion which followed Mr. Fletcher's paper, Dr. Garnett amusingly cross-examined Mr. Fletcher with a view to show that Bagford's reputation was no worse than he deserved; Mr. Wheatley supported the theory that his collections were largely made from loose leaves, and as one who had found them useful, admired Mr. Fletcher's courage in saying a good word for their collector; Sir Ernest Clarke alluded to Bagford's Ballads; Mr. Tedder thronght the paper an excellent revelation of Bagford's good qualities, and Mr. Redgrave asked for information as to Bagford's experience as a printer, which Mr. Fletcher thought was confined to his having having had a press at work on the Thames during the great frost of January, 1716.

The President thought that Mr. Fletcher's paper had gone very far to whitewash Bagford; certainly he himself should now be more inclined to mark Bagford's name in the calendar with a red letter, than to brand him as a sinner. He had great sympathy with him in his collection of broadsides, as in the last fourteen or fifteen years he himself had managed to collect something like nineteen thousand of them, including English, French, German and Venetian Proclamations (3,000), Papal Bulls (11,000), and English Ballads (3,000). Bagford, he thought, was a "prowler," like those who used thirty or forty years ago to spend their days in overhauling the book-boxes on the banks of the Seine, and as he himself had once picked up a large collection of Napoleon broadsides for four shillings, he could imagine that a century and a half ago "prowling" might be so richly rewarded as to enable Bagford to bring together his great collections at a cost which even he could afford.

que ycy soit ton purgatoire. Car tu dois mi-
eulx amer estre punis en ce mõde quen lautre.
Et se ainssi tu le demandes de bon & repentant
coeur, tu feras de necessite vertu, et dieu te par-
donra et paine & coulpe, et yras certainement
en paradis. et autremẽt par impaciẽce tu pour-
roies cheoir en pardurable dampnacion ¶

La quarte exhortacion.

Pense du tout a ton salut aceste heure. car
par aduenture iamais tu ni peus recouurer.
et laisse toute aultre pensee aux choses de ce mõ
de, lesquelles tu laisses, et qui ne te tirõt point
hors dinfer se tu ytrebuches. Commande
tout adieu. car Il est asses puissant & saige &
bon pour tout gouuerner sans toy, puis quil
te veult prendre a soy, si pense du tout aluy, et
atoy et de toy en priant seulement a ceulx qui
ydemeurent que Ilz veullent dieu deuotement
prier pour toy. ¶ Sensieut la seconde par-
tie qui contient sept interrogacions. ¶

La premiere interrogacion.

Mon amy ou amye veulx tu morir
et viure en la foy xpienne de nr̃e saulueur
ihũcrist comme loyal et vray filz de saincte
eglise ¶ Respõde, oil. ¶ La ij^e interrogaciõ.

demandes tu. o:

Page from Gerson's *Doctrinal*. Printed by Jean Brito.

EARLY PRINTING AT BRUGES.

By W. H. JAMES WEALE.

Read 16th May, 1898.

AT the commencement of this year there was published at Bruges an Essay (515 pp.), by M. L. Gilliodts, Keeper of the Municipal Archives of that town, which has revived an old controversy as to the locality in which the art of printing with moveable type was first exercised. It is entitled *L'œuvre de Jean Brito, Prototypographe Brugeois.* The first sixty-four pages are occupied by a very careful review of all that has been written on Johannes Brito from 1778, when the learned Bollandist, Father Joseph Ghesquière, first drew attention to the unique copy of Gerson's Doctrinal, then in the Meerman Collection at the Hague, and now in the French National Library at Paris. The colophon of this book is as follows:—

Aspice presentis scripture gracia que sit
Confer opus operi, spectetur codice codex
Respice quam munde, quam terse, quamque decore
Imprimit hec ciuis Brugensis Brito Johannes
Inueniens artem nullo monstrante mirandam
Instrumenta quoque non minus laude stupenda.

Prefixed to Gerson's work is a short statement saying that it was composed "a la requeste et priere de *nostre reverend pere* en Dieu

monseigneur l'evesque de Terewane, nommé maistre Mahieu Regnault." Strange to say, the principal ground for setting aside Brito's claim to have printed this work at Bruges was that, inasmuch as in the foreword just quoted, he speaks of Mathew Regnault, who died on 20th March, 1415, as *our* reverend father, he must have lived in the diocese of Thérouanne, and could not have survived that prelate long enough to have printed this book, the technical features of which point to its having been produced at a much later period, certainly not before 1470. And yet the explanation of this difficulty is very simple, so simple that it is astonishing that it does not seem to have occurred even to Holtrop or Blades, or to the author of this monograph. There can surely be no doubt that Brito printed Gerson's Doctrinal, not from the original at Thérouanne, but from a manuscript copy of it to which the unknown copyist had prefixed a foreword explaining what the book was, who composed it, and at whose request it was written. Brito merely added the six lines at the end.

In this colophon Brito makes three assertions: first, that he was a burgher of Bruges, *civis Brugensis;* he does not state how he became a burgher. Mr. Gilliodts asserts that he was born a burgher, and was the son of a John Bortoen, who belonged to a good family bearing arms, and occupied an important position in the administration of the town, having been treasurer and burgomaster, and after whom a street was named: '*sheer Ian Bortoen Straet.* In support of this assertion he has gathered together an immense number of notes occupying 92 pages (pp. 161–252) relating to persons of the name of Bortoen, Bertoen, Bretoen, etc. He goes on to show that this Bortoen in the later years of his life met with a reverse of fortune, and says that his son (p. 232) "réduit aux rudes épreuves de la vie, aux dures nécessités de l'existence, avait dû, dès lors s'adonner à quelque profession lucrative; les préjugés de sa naissance autant que son éducation l'écartant de tout métier manuel, il devint *boucscrivere* (calligrapher, copyist of books, which I should have thought was manual work). C'est sous ce nom qu'on le trouve à Tournai, en 1446, tandis qu'il recherchait déjà les moyens d'application de l'idée nouvelle qui tourmentait son

esprit." Now this romance has for its only foundation the following entry in the list of persons who took part in the lottery drawn at Bruges on 27th August, 1446: * "Maistre Jehan le Borton, maistre de le escripture, Tournay." Mr. Gilliodts goes on to say: "N'ayant rien gagné par la loterie, Brito, trompé une seconde fois par la fortune, revint peu après à Bruges et se mit sérieusement au travail qui l'obsédait et qui allait immortaliser son nom." He then states that he became a member of the Gild of S. John the Evangelist, composed of stationers, writers, illuminators, bookbinders, etc., in, if not before, 1454, and that he remained a member until his death in 1494–5. He gives numerous extracts from the Gild accounts (252-319), all of which have been already printed—and more correctly.† He notices the fact that Brito never held the office of Dean of the Gild, to which only natives of Flanders were eligible; this fact and the entry in the lottery account ought to have saved him from exclaiming (p. 255): "Des critiques, qui se posent à l'abri de toute légèreté, ont osé soutenir que la famille Brito était ou étrangère à la ville de Bruges, ou inconnue."

Notwithstanding nothing is more true; this John, who according to the laws in force, had on becoming a burgher to assume a surname, adopted that of the country of which he was a native, for he was born at Pipriac, near Redon, in Britanny. He left his native place early in life, and in 1446 was residing at Tournay, as is proved by a document dated 26th June, 1446, in the archives of that city—an acknowledgment by one Perinet de la Marche, a silk dyer, native of Rouen, that he owed "Jehan Breton, escripvant, né de Bretagne," the sum of 3¼ saluts d'or, balance of an account made up to Midsummer. That same year he, with many other inhabitants of Tournay, took tickets in the lottery drawn at Bruges on 27th August. He seems while residing at Tournay to have paid occasional visits to Bruges, and to have joined the Gild of Stationers of that city. In 1454 or early in 1455 he removed thither, and on the 22nd of May became by

* This curious list is published at length in *La Flandre*, vol. 1, pp. 80-92. Bruges, 1867.

† See *Le Beffroi*, tom. IV, pp. 252–329. Bruges, 1877.

purchase a burgher of that town, the entry in the account of the treasurers of that year runs thus: "Item den xxij^{en} in Meye, van Mr Ian Bortoen f^{s} Ians van Pypryac, xiiij*l.* viij*s.* Par." John son of John of Pipriac, thus became Johannes Brito, civis Brugensis.

The second assertion of the colophon is that he printed the book, of which there can be no doubt, as the copy, at present the only known one, is in the National Library at Paris.

The third claim put forward is, not that he invented printing, but that without having been apprenticed or having had any master, he found out how to print.

> Inveniens artem nullo monstrante mirandam
> Instrumenta quoque non minus laude stupenda.

As Brito did not become a citizen of Bruges until the 22nd of May, 1456, the contention that his *Doctrinal* was printed before that date is disposed of for good and all.

I purpose now to put before you a few notes concerning the art of printing which I have gathered together, and which I venture to think may be of some little help to those who are trying to clear up the history of the development of the art, which was most certainly introduced from the East, where patterns were printed in blue from wooden blocks on textiles at least as early as the sixth century, and in several colours in the latter part of the seventh. This art of printing on textiles was practised in the Netherlands in the twelfth century, if not earlier, and as soon as the manufacture of paper was introduced, that is, very early in the thirteenth century, religious and popular prints and playing cards were produced. This art spread quickly, and by the beginning of the fifteenth century had become pretty general throughout the Netherlands and Germany. The designation printer is frequently met with in documents of the commencement of the fifteenth century. Both the Flemish and its Latin equivalent *impressor* were alike employed later on to designate those whom we now call printers, but in the fifteenth century they had a wider signification. Thus we find in the "Liber viginti artium" by Paul of Prague, who died in 1459-60, that the

illuminator, the bookbinder, the girdler and the manufacturer of playing cards were all craftsmen who printed, and the three last classes are spoken of as having amongst their tools alphabets with which to print inscriptions on leather book-covers and girdles, and on playing cards. Another class of craftsmen were the *Ciripagi* (a term derived from χειρ, the hand, and πηγνυμι, *pangere*, to impress or print) in Flemish, *handsetter*, which Mr. Gilliodts takes to mean a compositor. The craft is thus described by Paul of Prague. "Ciripagus est artifex sculpens subtiliter in laminibus ereis, ferreis aut ligneis solidi ligni, aut altero ymagines, scripturam, et omne quodlibet ut post imprimat papiro, aut parieti, aut asseri mundo faciliter omne quod cupit; aut est homo faciens talia cum patronis, et tempore mei Pamberge quidam sculpsit integram Bibliam super lamellas, et in quatuor septimanis totam Bibliam super pergameno subtili presignavit scriptura."

I have no doubt that there are still in existence many more impressions of early woodcuts than are now known. They will, however, most likely be found where probably no one here present would think of looking for them—in graves.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries a very general mode of burial both in Flanders and in Zeeland was in graves the brick walls of which were plastered and adorned with religious subjects, emblems and ornamental designs. The nave of the cathedral of Saint Saviour at Bruges has beneath its pavement three tiers of graves; the uppermost are of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the second series of the sixteenth, and the third, nine feet under the present pavement, of the fourteenth and fifteenth. One of these last was discovered in 1841; the walls were adorned with coloured woodcuts fifty-four centimetres in height by forty in breadth; that at the head of the tomb represented Our Lord on the cross with the B. Virgin and St. John; that at the foot, the Coronation of the B. Virgin, surrounded by five angels, three with scrolls and two playing musical instruments. A number of other graves adorned either with figures printed on the plaster, or on paper attached to the walls, and coloured, have been discovered since 1868 in the church, and on the site of

the chapter house of the Benedictine Abbey of St. Andrew near Bruges, at Varssenaere and Saint Cross in the same neighbourhood, at Middelburg in Zeeland, and in some of the churches and chapels at Bruges. These were generally adorned with figures of Christ on the cross with the B. Virgin and St. John at the head, and Our Lady and Child with angels at the foot, generally printed on paper; one of these was anterior to 1412. Quite recently two graves thus adorned have been discovered on the site of the church of Saint John; these have been successfully removed to the Archæological Museum; these I have not seen. It is quite possible that more may yet be brought to light. The earliest of these prints were taken from the wood blocks in watery ink by means of a rubber; they were probably produced in Bruges or perhaps imported from Utrecht, from whence, as appears from a document dated the 1st of April, 1426,* large numbers of prints, both separate impressions and rolls and books of prints were being imported from time to time: this gave rise to a lawsuit, which ended in a decision that everyone was at liberty to import and sell in the town bound books and rolls of prints, but not separate prints. Soon after this date the use of oil as a medium for printing was introduced, and this gave rise to another lawsuit, terminated by a decision of the magistrates, dated 17th August, 1447, forbidding its use by any one who was not a member of the Gild of Painters. †

There can, I think, be no doubt that the term printed books *(gheprinte boucken, libri impressi)* in all documents prior to 1440 must be considered to mean what we call block-books, and that even for some time after that date no hasty conclusion as to its meaning ought to be adopted. I believe I am correct in saying that the designation *libri impressi* has not as yet been found to occur in any French document before 1460, and that therefore we may fairly conclude that all the block-books produced in the first half of the fifteenth century were produced in Germany or the Netherlands. The mention of the Bamberg Bible is the

* Printed in *Le Beffroi*, IV, 239; Bruges, 1873.
† *Ibid.*, IV, 244.

earliest mention of a German block-book. On the other hand, the style of drawing of most of the early block-books points to the Lower Rhine. This was the opinion of the late learned bibliographer, Mr. Henry Bradshaw, and also of Sir Martin Conway. Wynandus de Ruremunda, who died in 1450, left by will to the convent of Weidenbach at Cologne, printed books of the value of 20 florins—*libros impressos valore* xx *florenorum.* These must either have been printed from blocks or from casts.

In January, 1446, Jean le Robert, Abbot of St. Aubert at Cambray, got one Marquard, a writer of Valenciennes, to purchase for him at Bruges a printed *Doctrinal* getté en molle. "Pour un *Doctrinal* getté en molle, envoyet quérir à Bruges par Marquart, 1 escripuant de Vallenciennes ou mois de Jenvier xlv, pour Jacquet xx*s.t.* S'en heult Sandrins 1 pareil que l'église paya. The same prelate bought at Valenciennes in 1451, another *Doctrinal* jettez en molle for xxiiij gros, which he sent to Arras to a clerk who returned it on 1st November, 1451, alleging that it was worthless and all false, and that he had bought one on paper for 10 patars. No doubt these *Doctrinals* were printed from casts of entire pages or at least of whole lines. The increased demand for books at this time was leading in many of the centres of production to attempts to discover some more rapid method of multiplying copies, and it was soon found that moveable type was the desideratum. At the beginning of the year 1444, Procopius Waldfoghel, a goldsmith from Prague, who had settled at Avignon, made known to a Jew of that town, one Davin de Caderousse, a new method of copying books. On the 4th of July of that same year he was in possession of a screw press and of materials thus described: *duo abecedaria calibis et duas formas ferreas, unum instrumentum calibis vocatum vitis, quadraginta octo formas stangni nec non diversas alias formas ad artem scribendi pertinentes.* Two years later, on the 10th of March, 1446, he undertook to supply him within a short time with all the materials requisite for the reproduction of Hebrew texts—*viginti septem litteras Ebraycas formatas, scisas in ferro . . . una cum ingeniis de fuste, de stagno, et de ferro.* The Jew promised to keep the process a profound secret. On the 26th of

the same month, Procopius supplied him with all the requisites for reproducing Latin texts: *omnia artificia, ingenia et instrumenta ad scribendum artificialiter in lingua Latina.**

Nothing has been discovered to show that these inventors succeeded in printing any book. Attempts were also being made about this time at Strassburg, at Haarlem or Utrecht, and at Mentz. Nothing has yet been discovered to prove that any book was produced from moveable type before the Mentz Bible of 42 lines.† The Psalter of 1457 I have proved‡ to have been printed one page at a time by means of letters cut in iron, latten or brass; the same is the case with the printed Canons in many of the earlier missals; and cut letters continued to be used by some printers long after the introduction of cast type. But as far as we know at present the 42 line Bible was the first book printed from cast type. Archbishop Berthold, who was born at Mentz in 1440, and lived there all his life, in a document dated 4th January, 1486, speaks of the art of printing as having been first successfully practised in that city. At that time the house was known, in which typography had been invented, or in more precise language, in which the art of printing from moveable type had been perfected and made practical, easy and profitable. The colophon of Peter Schöffer's *Grammatica Rhytmica* declares that book to have been printed in Mentz, and to have issued from the house in which cast type was first introduced:

At Moguntina sum fusus in urbe libellus
meque domus genuit unde caragma venit.

The productions of the Mentz Press quickly found their way to the principal centres of distribution, and some of them would doubtless have passed through the hands of Brito. Mr. Gilliodts asserts (p. 400) that foreign

* These documents, discovered in the Registers of Notaries of Avignon, by M. Requin, were printed at length in a pamphlet entitled *L'Imprimerie à Avignon en 1444.* Paris, (Picard), 1890.

† It is, however, very probable that this was preceded by the Psalter and Canticles of 42 lines of which only one folio (now in the National Library at Paris), is known.

‡ Descriptive Catalogue of rare Manuscripts and Printed Books, chiefly liturgical, exhibited at the Albert Hall, 1885, pp. 27–46. London, 1886.

books could not be imported into or sold at Bruges, but this allegation is easily disposed of. Copies of Mentz books are known to have been purchased in the cloister of Saint Donatian's church, where the booksellers had their stations. To mention one instance: a copy of Cicero's *Officia* printed by Schöffer, in the Lambeth Palace Library, bears this inscription on the fly-leaf: "Emptum apud Sanctum Donatianum in oppido Bruggensi Flandrie per Iohannem Rustel, decretorum doctorem, archidiaconum Berkshyrie, anno Domini Millesimo cccc lx septimo xv calendas Maias."

It is of course impossible to prove what early printed books came into Brito's hands, but there is no doubt that he was struck by their appearance and set to work to find out how they were produced, and at length he succeeded as he says without having had any master—*inveniens artem, nullo monstrante, mirandam.* But certain technical characteristics prove that no one of the six books produced by him can by any possibility have been executed before 1470, as I think the inspection of the excellent photographic reproduction of a page of Gerson's *Doctrinal* for which I am indebted to the kindness of the learned administrator of the National Library at Paris, M. Leopold Delisle, will convince you. One of Brito's productions, the *Defence of the Duchess of Burgundy* written early in 1477, could not have been printed before that year, and the Peace between the burghers of Bruges and the Emperor Maximilian, concluded on 16th May, 1488, was no doubt printed immediately after. The *Doctrinal* may be slightly anterior to these, but it is certainly not earlier than 1475. The type is peculiar; it has been said to be the same as that used by Veldener, but it is certainly different; neither does it resemble any of the types used by Machlinia. There is one peculiarity I should like to draw your attention to, and that is the position of the catchwords and signatures which are placed perpendicularly in the margin. The signatures are so placed in several of John of Westphalia's publications, *e.g.*, in the *Epistolae* of Æneas Silvius, afterwards Pius II, printed in 1483, and in an undated but earlier edition of Peter de Crescentiis.

It is a pity that no record was kept of the exact provenance of the fragments of proof and waste sheets of the productions of Brito's press extracted from bindings, as there would be a better chance of discovering more and of fixing their date.

Until within the last few years it has been too much the practice to rebind early printed books, and no doubt in this way much that was of the highest value for the elucidation of the History of Printing has been destroyed. But doubtless there still remains much that may yet be brought to light from the bindings not only of printed books, but especially of account books and registers, the covers of which were padded with sheets of paper before the use of boards had been discarded by the binders of printed books.

LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS AND EXAMPLES OF METAL AND IVORY BINDINGS FROM THE BIBLIOTHECA LINDESIANA.

Exhibited to the Bibliographical Society, at the Grafton Galleries, 13th June, 1898,

BY THE PRESIDENT, LORD CRAWFORD.

Greek Manuscripts.

1. THE FOUR GOSPELS, in *Greek*, with tables of Eusebian canons, prologues, κεφάλαια, etc. ff. 239. 207 × 155 mm., on vellum. 11th cent. (Gr. 1.)

Very neatly written in a small hand; with illuminated architectural patterns for the Eusebian canons, full-page miniatures of the four Evangelists (that of St. Luke is missing), and half-page decorative patterns at the beginning of each Gospel, all in Byzantine style and in good condition. On the last page is a note of the birth of a girl on October 2, 1320.

2. THE FOUR GOSPELS, in *Greek*. ff. 204. 260 × 180 mm., on vellum. 11th cent. (Gr. 7.)

Considerably mutilated, wanting St. Matthew 1, i.—xv., 32, the beginning of St. Mark, the end of St. Luke and beginning of St. John, besides several leaves elsewhere. A half-page coloured pattern at the beginning of St. Luke is the only decoration now preserved. Some of the missing portions of the text have been supplied on paper. Written in a fine bold hand. At the end a synaxarion in a small hand.

3. LIVES OF SAINTS, in *Greek*. ff. 170. 272 × 175 mm., on vellum. 11th cent. (Gr. 8.)

Imperfect, containing nine articles, while twelve are wanting from the beginning. No decoration. At the end is a note of the purchase of the book at Constantinople in 1592 for 60 ἄσπρα (small silver coins).

4. PSALTER, in *Greek*. ff. 284. 171 × 115 mm., on vellum. 11th cent. (Gr. 11.)

Neatly written in a thin hand, without ornamentation, except a small coloured pattern at the beginning of the first Psalm. Followed (f. 252) by the 151st Psalm and other hymns and prayers.

5. EVANGELISTARIUM and Menologium for the whole year, in *Greek*. ff. 267. 325 × 260 mm., on vellum. Late 11th cent. (Gr. 9.)

About 29 leaves are lost from the beginning, and two from the middle. Written in several different hands.

6. THE FOUR GOSPELS, in *Greek*, preceded by tables of κεφάλαια (that to St. Matthew being lost), and followed by a synaxarion (f. 247) and menologium (f. 251), the latter being imperfect. ff. 254. 165 × 122 mm., on vellum. 11th–12th cent. (Gr. 10.)

No decoration except a small pattern in red ink at the beginning of each Gospel. Written in a rather small, clear hand.

7. THE FOUR GOSPELS, in *Greek*, preceded by tables of κεφάλαια, and followed by a synaxarion. ff. 240. 140 × 102 mm., on vellum. 11th–12th cent. (Gr. 2.)

At the end of St. Luke there are six hexameter lines (in the same hand as the rest of the MS.) by "Paul the Monk." No decorations except a small pattern in red ink at the beginning of each Gospel. Written in a very small, neat hand.

8. JOHN OF DAMASCUS. Dialectica (ff. 6–68) and Expositio Fidei Orthodoxæ (ff. 69–227), with a short additional treatise (ff. 227b–235). *Greek*. Preceded by a table of contents of the whole volume (ff. 1–4). ff. 236. 200 × 150 mm., on vellum. 13th cent. (Gr. 5.)

On f. 69b is a rough full-page portrait of the saint. On the last leaf is a recipe for ink.

9. CHANTS FOR CHURCH SERVICE throughout the year, in *Greek*, with musical pneums throughout. ff. 171. 295 × 230 mm., on vellum. 14th cent. (Gr. 6.)

Imperfect, wanting the end, and having 28 leaves supplied on paper in a later hand in various places throughout the volume.

Latin Manuscripts.

10. LEGAL INSTRUMENT OF DONATION FROM JOHANNES, the *Primicerius*, or Captain of a company of soldiers, to the Church of Ravenna. Roll, on papyrus, 1 m. 62 cm. long by 29 cm. broad. Sæc. VI.–VII. (Lat. 1.)

Imperfect at beginning, and undated; but written probably about A.D. 580–600, at Ravenna.

The last portion contained the exact terms of donation, but as the instrument is referred to by the donor just before making his *cross* for signature, and by each of the witnesses, it is plain that it was meant to be the "*irrevocabilem donationis meæ usufructuariæ paginam sex unciarum principalium in integro totius substantiæ meæ.*" The language is a very corrupt style of Latin; the handwriting cursive Roman.

One of the most curious features of this document (palæographically speaking) is the subscription by one of the witnesses, a Greek, Marinos Chrysokatalaktis, who has written his testimony in *Latin*, but in Greek characters (excepting that he uses the Latin *n* for the Greek *ν* occasionally, and the Latin *u* for the Greek *β* sometimes). It is a contribution to our knowledge of old Latin pronunciation, for we find that he writes *ovelk* (that is, *week* not *wyke*) for the Latin *huic*, and that he writes *φικετ* for *fecit*, in which latter word the irregularity of his vowels does not invalidate the proof that the letter *c* was still pronounced *k* (not *s*, nor *ch*) at the end of the sixth century after Christ.

11. BENEDICTIO CEREI. Roll, on vellum, 1 m. 81 cm. long by 215 mm. broad. Sæc. IX. (Lat. 2.)

The blessing of the Paschal candle, a rite beginning with "Exultet," by which word this class of manuscript is frequently called. The illuminations represent the Passion and Resurrection, and the music in pneums accompanies the text. The head of both text and illuminations is in the same direction. It should be noted that this arrangement is unlike any other known examples of the rite; the illuminations and the text are usually reversed so that as the officiant reads, the roll falling over the lectern displays the pictures to the people.

12. St. Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage. Epistolæ et opuscula. 322 × 185 mm., on vellum. Sæc. vii.–viii. (Lat. 15.)

In rude Merovingian characters, often mixed with uncial letters. One of the oldest MSS., still in existence, of this Father of the Church.

13. Homilies on the Gospels appointed for the several Saints' days of the year. 295 × 213 mm., on vellum. About 750–800. (Lat. 12.)

Written in large rude Carlovingian characters, with a mixture of uncials and capitals. The homilies are by St. Fulgentius, Bede, etc. Belonged originally to the Abbey of Luxeuil.

14. Evangelia IV., Latiné, cum præfatione Beati Hieronymi. 296 × 210 mm., on vellum. About 850. (Lat. 9.)

The illumination prefixed to St. Mark's Gospel is a fine specimen of the Carlovingian art. The writing includes a great variety of characters, uncial, rustic, capital, etc. The numerical figures are according to the Roman system. Initials in gold.

15. Evangelia IV., Latine, cum Canone S. Eusebii. 245 × 190 mm., on vellum. Sæc. ix. (Lat. 97.)

With illuminations representing the four Evangelists and their symbols, and headings in letters of gold. A note states that the codex was used by St. Anscharius (*ob.* 865), and was afterwards preserved as a relic in the church at Bremen.

16. S. Columbanus. Vita scripta ab ejusdem discipulo (Jona Hiberno). 215 × 150 mm., on vellum. Sæc. ix. (Lat. 101.)

Written in the purest Carlovingian character. Some Latin words written with accents like pneums.

17. St. Gregory the Great. Moralia in Job. 420 × 310 mm., on vellum. Sæc. ix. (Lat. 93.)

Written in Spain, and containing numerous glosses. The illuminated capitals are very quaint, being for the most part distorted human figures.

18. Smaragdus. Explicationes in Regulam Sancti Benedicti. 247 × 200 mm., on vellum. Sæc. ix. (Lat. 116.)

Written by a Spanish scribe in visigothic letters of a singular form. In three different inks, the body of the work being in black with the headings in red, and the text of the rule in green, or *vice versâ*. Interlaced rustic capitals.

19. EVANGELIA IV., Latine. 241 × 193 mm., on vellum. Sæc. x. (Lat. 110.)

Written and illuminated for the Emperor Otto the Great, whose portrait is painted on small medallions with inscriptions round them. The illuminations prefixed to each of the Gospels and the borders of the Canon of Eusebius have been surmised to be by an Italian hand and executed at St. Gallen.

20. LECTIONARIUM. 192 × 143 mm., on vellum. About 1060. (Lat. 7.)

With illuminations. Written by Ruopertus, Abbot of Prüm, a monastery on the Moselle, who ruled 1056–1063.

21. EVANGELIA IV., Latiné. 232 × 155 mm., on vellum. Sæc. x.–xi. (Lat. 98.)

Belonged in the year 1314 to the church of St. Mary, in Walbeck, of which church the "Statuta et Consuetudines" are written on the blank leaves of the volume. With drawings of the Evangelists and initial letters illuminated.

22. BEDA. In Novum Testamentum Tractatus. 375 × 233 mm., on vellum. Sæc. x.–xi. (Lat. 124.)

Written in double cols., and with many initial letters illuminated. Also miniatures of saints.

23. CANTICA ECCLESIASTICA pro Dominicis et Festis cum Notis musicis. 198 × 140 mm., on vellum. Sæc. x.–xi. (Lat. 94.)

The music is written without staves, in the notation called pneums.

24. JOSEPHUS. Judaicæ antiquitatis libri xx. Belli vero Judaici cum Romanis libri vii. 505 × 345 mm., on vellum. Sæc. x.–xi. (Lat. 48.)

In double cols., headings in rustic uncials, and with numerous illuminated capitals, some filling nearly the entire column.

25. PSALTERIUM. 345 × 237 mm., on vellum. Sæc. xi. (Lat. 125.)

Written in large bold characters, probably in Lorraine. With a full-page miniature, and three large illuminated initials of interlaced work.

26. EPISTOLÆ. 236 × 163 mm., on vellum. Sæc. xi. (Lat. 126.)

Written in long lines, with large coloured initials at the commencement of the various books.

27. BROCARDUS. Magnum Volumen Canonum. 384 × 263 mm., on vellum. Sæc. XI. (Lat. 106.)

With illuminated initials.

28. EPISTOLÆ S. PAULI cum Glossis. 250 × 165 mm., on vellum. Sæc. XI. (Lat. 23.)

Written in the character used in Europe before the introduction of the angular gothic, with illuminated initials in gold and colours.

29. ST. BERNARD. Sermones de Nativitate Domini, de S. Stephano, etc. 296 × 200 mm., on vellum. Sæc. XI.–XII. (Lat. 96.)

With illuminated initials representing animals in grotesque attitudes.

30. ST. BEATUS (vulgarly called San Biecco, Abbot of Valcavado near Saldano in Castilla la Vieja, died A.D. 798). [Commentarius in Apocalypsim.] At end: Explicit Codex Apocalipsis duodenario ecclesiarum numero ita duodenario ordine librorum incisione distinctio. Incipit explanatio Danielis prophete ab auctore b'i joh'i (S. Hieronymo). In 1 vol., 454 × 326 mm., on vellum, circa 1150. (Lat. 8.)

With 110 miniatures, all very large, painted on grounds of deep and vivid colour—including a circular Map of the World. Written in North Spain (Old Castile or Aragon).

31. CASSIODORUS. Expositio digesta Psalmorum. 465 × 345 mm., on vellum. Sæc. XII. (Lat. 99.)

Written by a Spanish scribe named Cumanxius; with numerous ornamental initials of interlaced work, some of which bear a striking resemblance to the decorative work of the early Celtic School.

32. BIBLIA, continens Vetus et Novum Testamentum. 221 × 156 mm., on vellum. Sæc. XIII. (Lat. 17.)

With historiated capitals, etc. Formerly belonged to the Abbey of Saint-Acheul, and to the Duchesse de Berry.

33. BIBLIA LATINA, cum Indice Nominum. 354 × 255 mm., on vellum. Sæc. XIII. (Lat. 102.)

With historiated initials illuminated in gold and colours.

34. BIBLE. The Old and New Testament, illustrated by a series of Miniatures and Extracts. On vellum, in the form of a roll, 9 m. 11 cm. long, by 76 cm. wide. About 13th century. (Lat. 13.)

35. MISSALE. Sarum use. 308 × 205 mm., on vellum. About 1228–1256. (Lat. 24.)

Inscribed: "Memoriale Henrici de Cicestria canonici Exon. precij. lxs." Preceding the Canon are eight full-page illuminations, in one of which is introduced a kneeling figure of Canon Henry of Chichester.

36. CHORALE et Hymnarium Ecclesiæ, cum Notis musicis. 487 × 335 mm., on vellum. Sæc. XIII. (Lat. 74.)

Written in very large missal characters, and adorned with drawings and illuminated capitals. From the Church of Santa Cecilia in Trastevere at Rome.

37. PSALTERIUM. 260 × 164 mm., on vellum. Written in Paris about A.D. 1260. (Lat. 22.)

With five pages filled with miniatures, and historiated capitals at the commencement of each Psalm. It was probably written by the same person who executed the manuscripts given by St. Louis to the Sainte Chapelle. Belonged at one time to Jeanne de Navarre, Queen Consort of Henry IV., King of England, whose autograph is on one of the blank leaves.

38. PENTATEUCHUS. 483 × 336 mm., on vellum. Sæc. XIII. (Lat. 16.)

With historiated initials in gold and colours.

39. APOCALYPSE. Historia Sancti Joannis Evangelistæ necnon ejusdem Visiones Apocalypticæ. 265 × 202 mm., on vellum. Sæc. XIV. (cir. 1350). (Lat. 19.)

Composed of 24 leaves, containing 96 miniatures, accompanied by explanatory legends, in red or black ink. An admirable production of the Flemish School.

40. PSALTERIUM. 273 × 193 mm., on vellum. Sæc. XIV. (Lat. 105.)

Written by a German scribe, and ornamented with pen and ink drawings of animals, historiated capitals, and 34 miniatures of the life of Christ in gold and colours.

41. SPECULUM humanæ salvationis. 279 × 201 mm., on vellum. Sæc. XIV. (Lat. 27.)

With rudely painted illuminations.

42. BIBLIA PAUPERUM. 282 × 207 mm., on paper. About A.D. 1400. (Lat. 69.)

A series of very rude pen and ink drawings illustrating Bible history.

43. VIRGIL. Æneis. 257 × 145 mm., on vellum. Dated 1404 "de mense Januar. per me B.D.Corsinus." (Lat. 41.)

Of Italian execution, with the arms of the Corsini family emblazoned at foot of the first page.

44. NICOLAS DE LYRA. Postilla super libros Veteris Testamenti. 3 vols., of which the second is exhibited. 425 × 273 mm., on vellum. Dated 1407. (Lat. 29–31.)

Presented to a member of the Malatesta family. Italian School; with many illuminations.

45. ARMORIAL GENERAL. Arms and Heraldry. 270 × 163 mm., on vellum. Dated 1416. (Lat. 28.)

Written by an officer of arms, a native of the Province of Beira, in Portugal, whilst he was attending the Council of Constance. With 236 coats of arms and flags with heraldic bearings emblazoned.

46. PRECES PRIVATÆ. 216 × 154 mm., on vellum. 1430–1450. (Lat. 20.)

With many illuminations, executed in Germany about the middle of the 15th century.

47. CASSIANUS. Collationes cum Patribus Aegyptiis habitæ. Super libero arbitrio Determinatio. De Institutis Patrum et de octo principalibus Vitiis. 279 × 206 mm., on vellum. Sæc. xv. (Lat. 49.)

Written in Italy, and having the numerous capitals illuminated in gold and colours.

48. PROLIANUS. Compendium Astrologiæ et Astronomiæ. 212 × 142 mm., on vellum. About 1477. (Lat. 53.)

Written and illuminated by an Italian scribe. The first page is surrounded by an imterlaced border, with birds and amorini introduced.

49. PRECES et Officia Varia. 180 × 120 mm., on vellum, executed at Bruges in 1487. (Lat. 39.)

Enriched with 30 miniatures and 36 borders, besides other decorations. The artist by whom this volume was decorated with miniatures appears to have been Nicholas de Coutre, one of the Guild of Illuminators of Bruges.

50. HORÆ. 259 × 162 mm., on vellum. Executed for Jacques Galliot de Gourdon de Genouillac, Grand-Ecuyer de France, and Grand-Maître d'Artillerie under Francis I., 1495–1500. (Lat. 38.)

Illuminated probably in the South of France by an artist of the school of Jean Foucquet.

51. MISSALE ROMANUM. 6 vols., of which the first and second are exhibited. 374 × 263 mm., on vellum. Executed for Cardinal Pompeo Colonna, 1510–17. (Lat. 32–37.)

The tradition handed down by the family was that the large full-page illuminations were executed by Raphael, about the year 1517, when the owner was made a cardinal, and there is no doubt that, if not actually by his hand, the work was done by his followers under his supervision.

52. HORÆ B. M. Virginis. 68 × 47 mm. 256 ff., on vellum. 16th century. (Lat. 21.)

With illuminations. Belonged to Mary, Queen of Scots, and contains some of her writing on ff. 113 and 124.

53. MICHAEL SCOTT. Magica.—Instructio pro discipulis seu Amatoribus Artis Magicæ. 193 × 136 mm., on vellum. Sæc. XVI. (Lat. 120.)

In Arabic, followed by the Latin translation. Written in red, green, and black ink.

54. MS. ON LEATHER. Roll, 86 cm. long by 12 cm. wide. Spanish-American. (?) Probably the work of an Indian convert to Christianity, written in peculiar Latin and describing a local fight, a drawing of which is given at the foot. Circa 1500–1530. (?) (Lat. 118.)

55. MS. ON LEATHER. Roll, 96 cm. long by 23 cm. wide. Spanish-American (?). An exercise in Arithmetic in barbarous Latin, with a very strange system of notation. Circa 1500–1530. (?) (Lat. 119.)

56. MS. ON LEATHER. Roll, 28 × 27 cm. Spanish-American (?). Apparently a Letter or Communication. Circa 1500–1530 (?). (Lat. 117.)

English Manuscripts.

57. YORKSHIRE AND NORTH OF ENGLAND ARMORIAL, called "Stacey Grindle Roll." 3 m. long by 240 mm. wide. On vellum. About 1350. (Eng. 19.)

With the arms of overeigns, nobles and barons emblazoned, and the name and description of each coat written above.

58. GOSPELS IN ENGLISH. The Gospels of the Lord Jhesu Christ, Luk, John, Mathew, Mark. Englished by John de Wycliffe, ad scribit A.D. 1380. 173 × 120 mm., on vellum. (Eng. 3.)

This Manuscript was presented to Queen Elizabeth on her accession to the throne, by Francis Newport, who, for the sake of his religion, had been compelled to fly during the reign of Queen Mary. There is prefixed to it a long letter written by him to the Queen.

59. COOKERY. A Form of Cury, by the Master Cook of Richard the Second. 142 × 100 mm., on vellum. 1380–1390. (Eng. 18.)

Black and red ink. 194 receipts. Different from "Pegges Forme of Cury."

60. LYDGATE. Siege of Troy. 455 × 237 mm., on vellum. About 1420. (Eng. 1.)

With illuminated borders and 70 miniatures. At the beginning is a picture of the author presenting his work to King Henry V. At the end are the arms of William Carent, of Carent's Court, in the Isle of Purbeck, born 1344, and living in 1422, for whom the book was probably written.

61. BOCCACCIO. The Fall of Princes. Translated into English by John Lydgate. 415 × 283 mm., on vellum. About 1425. (Eng. 2.)

Written in double cols., with borders and capital letters illuminated in gold and colours.

62. ROBERT GLOVER, Somerset Herald. Armorial of English Peers. 250 × 200 mm., on vellum. Dated 1582. (Eng. 13.)

With 67 coats emblazoned, each of which has a full page, the names and titles being written on the pages facing. Prepared for, and given to Frederick II., King of Denmark.

63. SIR DAVID LINDSAY II., of the Mount, Lord Lyon King of Arms. Armorial of Scottish Nobles and Barons. 320 × 210 mm., on paper. About 1604. (Eng. 10.)

With 284 coats of arms emblazoned.

64. MINUTES of Evidence and Actes of Commissioners for the Government of the Borders. Appointed by King James I. Written by Joseph Pennington. 292 × 186 mm., on paper. 1605–6. (Eng. 30.)

65. EDM. SKORY. A Description of all the Islands of the Canaries . . . besides the history of their first inhabitants, called the Guanches. A description of the Islands of Azores. 175 × 129 mm., on paper. About 1610. (Eng. 29.)

Both works are believed to be unpublished. The first contains the results of Skory's investigations during a residence in the Canaries; the treatise on the Azores is a compilation from other books.

66. JOHN PHILIPOTT, Somerset Herald. Armorial of English Peers. 360 × 220 mm., on vellum. Dated 1635. (Eng. 12.)

With 66 coats emblazoned, two on each page, the names and titles written above each coat. Prepared for, and given to, Charles Louis, Elector Palatine, at the direction of his mother, the Queen of Bohemia.

French Manuscripts.

67. BIBLE HISTORIÉE. 186 × 149 mm., on vellum. About A.D. 1250. (Fr. 7.)

A series of full-page paintings on a background of burnished gold, representing scenes from the Book of Genesis. The descriptions are written in French above and below the miniatures. Executed in the South of France.

68. LANCELOT DEL LAC. On reverse of folio 181: "Mais a tant fenist chi endroit maistre gautiers map son liure de lancelot del lac, si ɔmence a parler du saint graal . . . Chi cõmenche li liures du saint graal." On obverse of 212: "Chi ɔmenche li liures des mors artus, gauain 7 tous les autres ɔpaignons de la taule reonde 7 toute la fins." 2 vols., of which the second is exhibited. 294 × 285 mm., on vellum, circa A.D. 1300. (Fr. 1, 2.)

With 72 interesting miniatures, and numerous illuminated initials.

69. GUILLAUME DEGUILLEVILLE. Pélerinage de la Vie. 323 × 250 mm., on vellum. Sæc. XIV. (Fr. 4.)

Written in a clear, legible hand, and enriched with 173 miniatures, measuring on the average 75 × 50 mm. The miniatures, which are carefully and quaintly drawn, are illustrative of the poem, and display a wonderful fertility of invention, while they are valuable for the costume of the time, and the manners and ways of life of the people.

70. ROMAN DE LA ROSE. 228 × 155 mm., on vellum. Dated 1323. (Fr. 3.)

Written for, and presented to, Christina de Lindesay, Dame de Coucy, shortly after her husband died. A volume of the greatest personal interest to the present owner. Christina de Lindesay was the daughter of Sir William Lindsay, of Lamberton, and his heiress. The house of Lamberton was one of the three branches of the family of Lindsay, founded by the three sons of William de Lindsay, of Crawford, High Justiciary under William the Lion.

71. VIE ET PASSION DE NOSTRE SEIGNEUR JESUS CHRIST. Prières à la Vierge en Rime Française, avec d'autres pièces en prose. 238 × 166 mm., on vellum. About A.D. 1350. (Fr. 5.)

Written on 53 leaves, of which 24 are ornamented with 26 paintings of our Lord's Passion, all executed in grisaille, the aureoles only being depicted with gold, in the style subsequently adopted in the Block Books.

72. JEAN DE COURCY, Chevalier Normand. Chroniques. 434 × 310 mm., on vellum. Dated 1420. (Fr. 11.)

With borders and initial letters illuminated in gold and colours.

73. La Régime de Santé, fait pour entretenir lomme en bonne disposicion. 255 × 180 mm., on vellum. Sæc. xv. (Fr. 13.)

The first page has an illuminated border and a miniature of the author presenting his book to the patient, and at the foot of the page a coat of arms.

74. Mathieu Herbelin. Généalogie, Épitaphes et Armoiries de tous les Contes et Contesses de Dreux et de Braynne. 340 × 278 mm., on vellum. Sæc. xvi. (Fr. 27.)

With 126 coats of arms emblazoned, and initial letters illuminated in gold and colours.

75. R. P. Christopher Butkens. Histoire Généalogique de la Maison de Horne. 384 × 267 mm., partly on paper, partly vellum, signed and dated 1630. (Fr. 28.)

Written by Butkens, and dedicated to Ambrose, Comte de Horne. 118 portraits painted on vellum. All the coats of arms properly emblazoned in metals and tinctures. The manuscript has been continued by another hand to about 1680. It has not been published.

Italian Manuscripts.

76. Petrarca. Rime. — Cançoni distese del chiarissimo Poeta Dante Allighieri di Firenze. 243 × 163 mm., on vellum. Sæc. xiv. (Ital. 1.)

One of the most important manuscripts of the two poets, written during the lifetime of Petrarch, or immediately after his death, for Lorenzo, the son of Carlo degli Strozzi (a member of one of the noblest families of Florence), by Paul the Scribe, as appears by the colophon. With large initial letters, and three illuminated borders, containing portraits of the poets and their inamoratas, executed in the finest style of Florentine art at that period, with the arms of the Strozzi emblazoned in the bottom compartment of the first two.

77. Dante. La Divina Commedia. 282 × 210 mm., on paper. Sæc. xv. (Ital. 2.)

In double cols. With the Credo and other poems at the end.

78. San Giovanni Climaco. Incōmincia il libro di Sancto Giovanni Climaco della fuga del mondo et della Sancta Scala. 270 × 195 mm., on vellum. Sæc. xv. (Ital. 4.)

The first page is painted with an allegorical representation of the world, and the means of escape from its perils and follies. A space enclosed within a wall is supposed to represent the world, and here are men and women engaged in its occupations and vanities. In the centre is a painter at his easel, a company of people dance to a tabret and pipe, etc., but one man is seen apparently paying toll to St. Peter. Just outside the gate a woman dons a religious habit, which is handed to her by an angel. A flight of steps leads to the gate of Heaven, where a nun is being received by a heavenly spirit. A richly illuminated border surrounds the whole page, the Heavenly Father in the act of blessing being represented at the top.

The binding of this volume is remarkable as an example of the style known as "*cuir bouilli*."

79. Mary, Queen of Scots. Narratione del stato della Regina di Scotia . . . nella quele si contengono le persecutioni, travagli et prigionia di essa Regina. . . . 205 × 145 mm., on paper. About 1580. (Ital. 6.)

Manuscript letter from Francesco Marcaldi to his friend Antonio Piacentino.

80. Bologna. Insegni dei Signori Giudici et Consoli che amministrano Giustizia nella Corte et Tribunale della Universita dei Mercanti della Città di Bologna. 305 × 210 mm., on vellum. 1576–1632. (Ital. 40.)

With 558 coats of arms, besides plan and view of Bologna, and many other paintings by Bernardino Sangiovani.

Spanish Manuscript.

81. Diego Carceres. Artezilla dela lengua Otomi. 210 × 150 mm., on paper. About A.D. 1580. (Sp. 26.)

In gothic handwriting. The first grammar composed in the Otomi language.

Celtic Manuscripts.

82. The Roll of Feilimid—Olamh na Gael. Concerning the early history of the Gaelic Race, the Gael Sciot Iber, extending over a period of about 260 years. 181 mm. wide, on vellum. (Celtic 118.)

Of uncertain age, and by many considered to be a forgery. I am most anxious to get at the truth.—C.

83. MATERIA MEDICA. Treatise on Materia Medica—Mineral, Vegetable, and Animal. 200 × 142 mm., on vellum. Sæc. xv. (Celtic 35.)

Important as supplying certain lacunæ in a similar Manuscript in the British Museum.

84. KEATING. History of Ireland. In Irish. 316 × 205 mm., on paper. Dated 1715. (Celtic 123.)

Icelandic Manuscripts.

85. RYMBEGLA. Contains: 1. A Computistic Treatise dealing with the art of verifying dates. 2. A Treatise on Church Ceremonies. 3. A Treatise on Physiognomy. 4. A Calendar. 5. A Table for showing on what day Easter fell from 1140–1671. 80 × 60 mm., on vellum. About A.D. 1400. (Icel. 1.)

86. ISLENDSK LAUG BOK. 300 × 190 mm., on paper. Dated 1665. (Icel. 2.)

With illuminated title-page and many richly decorated initial letters of interlaced work.

Oriental Manuscripts.

87–242. [These comprised specimens of an Egyptian Solar Litany and Book of the Dead, several Coptic and Syriac MSS. of the Gospels and other parts of the Bible (a Syriac New Testament dating from about A.D. 1000 being of special interest as the only complete example of any antiquity in any European library), Hebrew Liturgies, two Samaritan Pentateuchs, numerous manuscripts of the Kur'ān, one of the most ancient texts extant of the Arabian Nights, several very fine Persian manuscripts including one of the Fables of Bidpai written in A.D. 1219, and other manuscripts in Sanskrit, Pali, Panjabi, Hindustani, Marathi, Singhalese, Parsi, Ethiopic, Armenian, Turkish, Thibetan, Burmese, Siamese, Malay, Javanese, Batak, Makassar and Chinese, the Oriental section in all numbering 156 exhibits.]

Examples of Bookbinding in Metal and Ivory.

Case I.

243. Manuscript Book of the Epistles.

In the centre of the cover, which is intended to be used as a pax at Mass, is an ivory panel carved in relief with the Crucifixion and figures of the Virgin Mary and St. John the Evangelist. The border is of silver-gilt, decorated with filigree work and four medallions *repoussé*, with figures of Saints; it is further enriched with large crystals, *en cabochon*, and a number of ancient Roman gems and pastes, both in intaglio and cameo. One, cut on red jasper, represents Hermes wearing a chlamys and holding the caduceus, copied from an antique Greek statue resembling the Farnese Hermes in the British Museum: fine Graeco-Roman work of the 1st century, A.D. The ivory carving, *German*, 10th or 11th century; the border, 13th century. 306 × 213 mm.

244. Covers of a Textus or Book of the Gospels.

In the centre of each is an ivory plaque, carved with three subjects in high relief; the Annunciation to the Virgin, the Nativity and Baptism of Christ, the Marys at the Sepulchre, the Ascension of Christ and the Descent of the Holy Ghost. The plaques are mounted in silver-gilt frames, divided into a number of panels, with *repoussé* figures of our Lord and Saints in high relief, that at the bottom of one being Saint Eucharius, Archbishop of Trèves, where the metal work of this cover was probably made. The intermediate panels are decorated with filigree work, and with jewels and pastes cut *en cabochon*. The ivory carvings, *German*, 10th or 11th century; the frames, 12th century. 420 × 258 mm.

245. Manuscript of the Old Testament.

In the centre of the cover is an ivory panel carved with two subjects; the upper one represents an archbishop with attendant priests addressing a man seated on a throne; the lower subject represents a Saint about to heal a lame man in the presence of a dignitary seated on a throne. The border, of silver-gilt, is decorated with filigree work and figures in *repoussé*, and enriched with crystals *en cabochon*. The MS. by a German scribe; 11th century; the cover, 13th century. 300 × 211 mm.

246. Textus or Book of the Gospels.

The covers consist of two modern boards in gilt copper frames enriched with plaques of Limoges enamel with representations of Apostles, Virtues, and the symbols of the four Evangelists, and formerly decorated with silver bosses. On one side a metal figure of the Crucifixion was attached, which is now missing; on the other is a 17th century painting of Christ. The MS. *German*, early 12th century. From the Church of St. Mary, Dinant. 303 × 199 mm.

247. Latin Psalter.

The cover is one leaf of the cover of a Textus or Book of the Gospels. In the centre is a figure of the Crucified Christ wearing a jewelled crown, on a cross richly ornamented with coloured enamels; in each corner is an enamelled medallion. The border is enriched with plaques of enamel, filigree work, and jewels. *French* (*Limoges*); early 12th century. 377 × 245 mm.

248. Manuscript Collectarium.

In the centre of the cover is a large shallow depression covered over with thin sheets of gilt copper. Hammered out into low relief are three standing figures—Christ bearing a book, to the left the Virgin, to the right St. John. Each figure stands on a separate pedestal. Above and below are symbols of the four Evangelists struck on separate pieces of metal of circular shape. The bevel is covered with thin gilt plates. At each corner of the border is a large rock crystal in claw settings; *champlévé* enamels along the top and bottom, and partly along the sides. The remaining spaces in the sides are fitted with filigree work and jewels. The centre of the cover Byzantine work of the 12th century, the border of a later date. The MS. of the 15th century. From one of the churches of the city of Cologne. 312 × 215 mm.

249. Two Leaves of a Diptych.

Ivory, carved in relief with the Annunciation to the Virgin, the Adoration of the Magi, the Nativity of Christ, and the Presentation in the Temple, beneath Gothic arches. *French*, about 1360. 202 × 97 mm.

Case II.

250. Manuscript Horæ.

The cover, two leaves of an ivory diptych; the front board representing the way to Calvary, and the back board the Crucifixion. Both under a series of Gothic canopies, and with many figures. French work of the 14th century. Manuscript 15th century. 123 × 85 mm.

251. Textus or Book of the Gospels.

In the centre of the cover, which is intended to be used as a pax at Mass, is an ivory panel of the Crucifixion, with figures of the Virgin Mary and St. John the Evangelist. The border is of gilt copper engraved with a floriated pattern and studded with silver bosses and jewels; at the corners are Limoges enamel plaques with the four Evangelists. The ivory carving, *Byzantine-German*, 10th or 11th century; the border, early 13th century; the MS., 9th or 10th century, probably written at the Benedictine Monastery of St. Gallen, Switzerland. Celtic influence is shown in the illuminated initial letters. From the Collegiate Church of St. Peter, Liége. It is mentioned by Montfaucon, *Bibl. Bibliothecarum*, 1739, I. 605. 262 × 200 mm.

252. LIMOGES PLAQUE, FROM A TEXTUS OR BOOK OF THE GOSPELS.

The Crucifixion. The figures cast in relief and applied, on a deep blue background, with three figured bands of turquoise, and circles and rosettes, coloured concentrically, white, blues and red, dotted between. At the bottom are flame-like ornaments, also in red, white, blue and black. 13th century. 270 × 138 mm.

253. MANUSCRIPT LATIN PSALTER.

The binding was probably made for a Textus or Book of the Gospels. In the centre of one side is a crucifix in gilt and enamelled copper, much worn down with kisses. On the other is a seated figure in gilt copper of Christ holding a book, and with His right hand raised in blessing. *French* (*Limoges*), early 12th century. The background is of silver stamped from dies of the 13th century. The whole is surrounded by an ivory border carved with busts of Saints in octagonal panels. 374 × 273 mm.

254. LIMOGES PLAQUE, FROM A TEXTUS OR BOOK OF THE GOSPELS.

The Crucifixion. The figures are cast metal in relief and applied, but with their draperies filled with rich *champlévé* enamels, lapis blue, turquoise and red. The cross is not in relief, and is very broad, covered like the rest of the field with a lapis blue enamel ground, dotted with rosettes and discs of a very great variety of form and size, and concentrically enamelled. Beneath the feet of the Saviour is a small figure, not in relief, of Adam rising from the dead; and over the arms of the cross are the sun and moon in relief. *Champlévé*, 13th century. 265 × 175 mm.

255. MANUSCRIPT HORÆ.

In the centre of the cover an ivory of the Virgin standing, holding on her left arm the Holy Child. Border of gilt copper *repoussé* with turquoises at each corner *en cabochon*, and garnets in the centre of each of the four plates which compose the border. Ivory and border 13th century. Manuscript of the 15th century. 135 × 97 mm.

256. MANUSCRIPT BOOK OF THE GOSPELS.

The central recess of the board is covered by a thick plate of copper *champlévé* enamel, on which is nailed a large figure of Christ in benediction, with the book clasped to His breast, seated on a low chair, in very high relief. The figure is of hammered brass or copper, chased and engraved over the surface, and gilt. At the corners of the enamel are the symbols of the four Evangelists. The bevel is covered by a plain strip of gilt metal. The border covered with strips of gilt metal *repoussé*. *French* (*Limoges*), early 12th century. The Manuscript of the 10th century. 254 × 173 mm.

257. Limoges Plaque, from a Textus or Book of the Gospels.

The Crucifixion. The figures, comprising the Virgin, St. John, and two angels above, and a small half-figure beneath typifying the Resurrection, are in incised metal, with the heads applied, and in relief. The cross is green, and the rest of the ground, chiefly lapis blue, broken up as usual with rosettes and discs, and two horizontal bands of turquoise. The border, 25 mm. wide, comprises fifteen small medallions of angels in metal, on lavender ground, separated by scroll-work on lapis ground. *Champlévé*, 13th century. 302 × 172 mm.

258. Covers of a Book of Hours.

Silver gilt, with filigree work of silver and silver gilt representing flowers and leaves, on sides and back. Borders of alternate stars and rectangular pieces surrounded with dots. Clasps of similar design as the sides. *Italian*, 16th century, by Piero di Nino. 120 × 65 mm.

259. Manuscript Officia et Preces Conv. Nonn. Reg. B. Scī Augustini Florentiæ.

This cover is a metal plate of unusual thickness and weight. It is probably a casting, of which the front surface has been overgilt and chased. The central figure is that of Christ seated on an arch or possibly a rainbow, a serpentine line below may represent the clouds, and between the feet is the globe or earth. To the left and right are embossed the letters A and M, probably to represent Alpha and Omega. In each corner is a rock crystal cut *en cabochon*, and surrounding the principal figure are the symbols of the four Evangelists. At the foot is the Agnus Dei. *North Italian*, 13th century. The MS. of the 15th century. 226 × 161 mm.

260. Consular Diptych.

Two leaves of carved bone, representing the bust of the Consul Areobindus within a circle, having his monogram above and below. The rest of the design is composed of palm leaves. Both leaves are the same. *Roman*, early 6th century. 320 × 129 mm.

261. Covers of a Textus or Book of the Gospels.

Metal plaques with subjects in relief, on a flowered *champlévé* ground, enamelled in green and blue, heightened with black. *Russian*, late 17th century. Purchased in Kharkov. Each leaf of the cover measures 334 × 193 mm.

262. Panel.

Ivory, the upper part carved in relief with the Adoration of the Magi, and the lower with the Nativity, it is further decorated with stars and diapers in gold. *Italian*, 10th century. 232 × 123 mm.

263. PANEL.

Ivory, carved in relief, with a figure of Christ delivering the keys to St. Peter with His right hand, and a scroll to St. Paul with His left. The eyes are all jewelled. *Byzantine-German*, 12th century. 180 × 110 mm.

264. ST. BONAVENTURA. BREVILOQUIUM.

Manuscript of the end of the 13th century, with gilt metal cover, filigree border set with jewels, and an enamelled plaque in the centre of a figure of St. Andrew. The head is in metal, incised, and lines filled with red against a bluish-grey nimbus, the drapery enamelled, of different shades of blue and green, very mottled, and borders of metal lined in with red. The background is plain gilt metal, engraved with round-headed arch, and the inscription, S. ANDREAS. The plaque is itself but 140 × 55 mm., the filigree border occupying the rest of the cover. The enamel, *German. Champlévé* of the 12th century. From the church of St. James at Liège. The whole cover measures 194 × 130 mm.

265. MANUSCRIPT JUSTINUS, SALLUSTIUS, FLORUS.

In the centre of the cover, which has most probably been at one time that of a Textus or Book of the Gospels, is a carving in some white substance, which may be soft stone, representing the Crucifixion. To the left of the cross, the Virgin and St. John, who takes her hand; behind them the holy women in tears; to the right of the cross, two groups of soldiers. Above the cross are two busts of angels. The bevel is covered with hammered metal plates. The border has four large crystals *en cabochon* at the corners, and four enamels *cloisonné* at the sides, top and bottom. The intervening space is occupied by filigree work and jewels. Carving, 12th century; border 13th century. The Manuscript of the 15th century. 289 × 205 mm.

AN INCUNABULUM OF BRESCIA, HITHERTO ASCRIBED TO FLORENCE.

Communicated by R. C. CHRISTIE.

THE complaint made by Aldus of those Lyonese printers who imitated the series of small Latin editions printed in the cursive type invented by him, which he commenced in 1501, has been well-known since the publication by Renouard in 1803 of the *Monitum in Lugdunenses Typographos*, dated 16th March, 1503, a copy of which had been discovered and communicated to the writer of *Annales des Alde* by Mercier de St. Leger. In this *Monitum* Aldus specifies the counterfeit editions of Virgil, Horace, Juvenal, Martial, Lucan, Catullus and Terence, and in addition to these, Renouard has noticed several other counterfeits including Dante and Petrarch, of about the same time, but printed probably after the date of the *Monitum*, or at all events, which had not then come to the knowledge of Aldus. In this *Monitum* he makes no complaint of any imitations except those printed at Lyons, but it appears from an order made by the Senate of Venice on the 17th of October 1502, printed for the first time by Castellani in his *La Stampa in Venezia dalla sua origine alla morte di Aldo Manuzio Seniore* (which first appeared in the *Ateneo Veneto* in 1887, and was published as a separate work in 1889), that in the petition upon which the order was made, Aldus, after complaining generally of the counterfeiting at Lyons of his cursive letters and of his publications, had stated that one of his books had been reprinted in Brescia, with place of impression falsely given as Florence :—

"Et perche li vengono tolte le sue fatiche et guasto quello che lui conza, come e stato facto in Bressa, che hano stampato una de sue opere et falsato, dicendo impressum Florentiæ." (Castellani, p. 77.)

Signor Castellani was not able to discover what the volume was which was printed at Brescia with the impress of Florence :—

"Quali fossero quelli di Brescia o per conto di chi contraffacessero, non si è venuto ancora a sapere." (Castellani, p. 49.)

A careful examination of all the books printed by Aldus prior to October 1502, and as exhaustive an examination as I have been able to make of books purporting to be printed at Florence before this date has led me to the irresistible conclusion that the volume to which Aldus referred as having the impress Florence, but really printed at Brescia, was the edition of the works of Politian of 1499, with the colophon *Impressum Florentiæ:* & *accuratissime castigatum* opa & *impensa Leonardi de Arigis de Gesoriaco Die decimo augusti, M. ID.*, which is ascribed to Florence in all lists of Florentine *incunabula*, including those of Hain, Audiffredi, and Panzer.

My reasons for this conclusion are as follows :—

First: Laire, in the second volume of his *Index Librorum ab inventa Typographia ad annum 1500* (Sens, 1791), p. 253, describes this book as a reimpression of the Aldine, and though Audiffredi in his *Specimen Editionum Italicarum Saeculi XV* (Rome, 1794), p. 371, has objected to this description, and has rightly pointed out that the Florentine edition contains neither the Miscellanea, the translation of Herodian, the Lamia, nor the Epistemon, yet it may, I think, be fairly described as a colourable and even fraudulent imitation of the Aldine edition, since it reprints without any acknowledgment or reference to that edition, the preface and dedication of that book addressed by Aldus to Marino Sanuto, and although as Audiffredi remarks, the title does not, like that of the Aldine, profess to include *Omnia Opera Politiani*, yet there is given in the dedication the very words of Aldus, *Quare tibi Politiani quæcunque habere*

potuimus opera Marine suavissime dicata, muneri mittimus, and the further passage in which Aldus regrets that he has not been able to obtain the second century of Miscellanea, the Epiphyllidæ, or the Annotations on Suetonius, Terence, Statius and Quintilian. Although, therefore, the word *Omnia* is omitted on the title, the preface of Aldus is both misleading and inaccurate when applied to the so-called Florentine reprint. It implies that the whole of the works of Politian that could be obtained are comprised therein; and it further implies that Aldus was the editor, though not the printer of the volume. That Aldus had a right to feel aggrieved at this edition and to treat it as a piracy there can be no doubt, even though it does not profess to have been printed by him.

Secondly: I have been unable to find any other volume purporting to be printed at Florence before October, 1502, which had already been printed by Aldus. That none of his Greek books were reprinted at Florence before that date is certain; that no other of his Latin books was so reprinted prior to the 1st of January, 1501, is equally certain. As to the Latin books printed at Florence in 1501 and the first three quarters of 1502, I cannot speak with the same absolute certainty, there being, so far as I know, no exhaustive list of Florentine books for this period, but the probability is very strong that no such book exists. No such book is mentioned by Panzer, nor have I been able to find, until many years later, any trace of any volume purporting to be printed at Florence which is a reprint of any Aldine volume except the *Politiani Opera* of 1499.

Thirdly: There are only five distinct species of Greek characters that I know as used by any Florentine printer in the fifteenth century, namely, those of the Homer of 1488, the two sets employed by Franciscus de Alopa in the remarkable and interesting series that he printed in and after 1494—the *Anthologia*, *Callimachus*, *Euripides*, the *Gnomic Poets*, *Musæus* and *Lucian*—the characters used by Filippo Giunta for the *Zenobius* of 1497 and the *Orpheus* of 1500, and lastly, those used by Miscominus in 1489 for the Greek passages of the *Miscellanea* of Politian, printed

by him in that year. Now the Greek characters of the *Politian* of 1499 have no resemblance whatever to any of these except the *Miscellanea* of 1489. The Greek types of both volumes, as Dibdin has remarked (*Bib. Spencer* III, 465, and VI, 233), resemble those used by Jenson, but each of them presents features differing as well from those of Jenson as from those of the other, and a careful examination makes it clear that the *Politian* of 1499 is not printed either as to the Roman or as to the Greek characters from the same types as those of the *Miscellanea* of 1489.*

Now there are several books printed at Brescia about this date which contain passages, some of them long passages, in Greek, and though the name purporting to be that of printer is not in all cases the same, and though trifling differences may be found in the Greek types used in different volumes, yet there is a strong family likeness going through all of them, leading to the conclusion that all were produced by one printer, and that the differences in the characters were merely those which arose from different founts of practically the same types being used interchangeably. In 1501 an edition of *Macrobius* was printed at Brescia, of which the well-known Angelus Britannicus is stated in the colophon to be the printer, and in which the Greek characters strikingly resemble those of the Florentine *Politian*. But there is a still greater similarity between the Greek type of the *Politian* and that of a volume of Miscellanies (the first of which is *Philippi Beroaldi Annotationes Centum*) *published* by Britannicus in 1496 (sumptibus A. Britannici), but *printed* by Bernardinus Misinta. Audiffredi (p. 177), noticed this similarity, and thus writes of the Brescia volume:—"Character Græcus, non invenustus, eique simillimus quo usus est Leonardus de Arigis in editione Florent. operum Politiani anni 1499, cum qua colligata est haec editio in Casanat."

* There is one Florentine Greek *incunabulum* which I have had no opportunity of seeing, namely, the first edition of the Greek Epigrams of Politian, ascribed by Panzer (i, 423), on the authority of Freytag (*Adpar.* i, 673), and Denis (*Suppl.*, 396), to Florence, 1495. No copy is in the British Museum, and I do not know where one is to be found.

The fact noted by Audiffredi that the copy of the Brescian *Beroaldus* in the Cassano Library was bound up with a copy of the *Politian* of 1499 is not without interest, and may have some bearing on the question I am discussing, especially as I have found in a sale catalogue of *Incunabula, &c.*, of A. Gheno (Rome, 1897, No. 811), a similar instance of copies of the two books bound in one volume in, apparently, contemporary binding. The *Beroaldus* is a volume of 112 leaves, of which nearly half is occupied by the *Miscellanea*, the *Panepistemon*, and the *Lamia* of Politian—the whole of the works of this author included in the Aldine edition, which are omitted in the (so-called) Florentine edition, with the exception of the translation of *Herodian*. Can it be that the edition of 1499 was in fact intended to form a supplement to the *Beroaldus* of 1496, so that the two might form one volume, which should include all that could be found of the original writings of Politian?

For the foregoing reasons, I have come to the conclusion that the *Politian* of 1499 is the volume which Aldus referred to in his petition, and that it was printed at Brescia, at the press of Bernardinus Misinta or Angelus Britannicus.

I may add that, except in reference to this volume, Leonardus de Arigis Gesoriacus (of Boulogne?) is not known as a printer, and it will be noticed that though on the strength of this volume his name is included in many lists of fifteenth century printers, the colophon only gives him as the editor and possibly the publisher of the volume, and does not state that the volume was printed by him.

AN EARLY REPRESENTATION OF THE PRINTING PRESS.

THE subjoined woodcut occurs on the titlepage of *Baptiste Mantuani Carmelite theologi ad dominum falconem de morte philippi bauerie querimonia*, issued without date or name of place of printer, but printed by Jacobus de Breda at Deventer, and with this device of a printing press dated 1515.

The woodcut, reproduced here by the kindness of one of our members (Mr. George Dunn, the owner of the rare book in question), is of interest as adding another to the "Early Representations of the Printing Press" enumerated by Mr. Falconer Madan in the first volume of *Bibliographica* (London, Kegan Paul, 1894). Mr. Madan has kindly supplied the following note to indicate its place in the series.—[A. W. P.]

2 **—The woodcut mentioned above is a copy of No. 2 (*Bibliographica* I., p. 226), with minor variations, the chief of which are that the title engraved on the press is now "Prelū Jacobi" instead of "Prelum Ascensianum." The device beneath the press is a different one, with "J" and "b" at the sides (for "Jacobus de Breda"), and on the end of the compositor's bench on the (true) left is "M.K.," no doubt the initials of the engraver, with ". 1 . 5 . 15." beneath. The readiest way of distinguishing between 2 and 2**, apart from marks which might be altered, is to note

that the amount of the wooden screw projecting above the cross-bar is in No. 2 less than $\frac{1}{16}$ of an inch, and in the present engraving nearly $\frac{1}{8}$, while in Nos. 3 and 6 it does not project at all.

The whole series of known engravings of presses before 1600 is now twenty-nine, that is to say:—1, 2, 2* (*not* 3*, 1514), 2** (1515, *see above*), 3–11, 12, 12* (1548), 13–20, 21, 21* (1573), 22, 23, 23* (1593, *not* 1538), 24. *See Bibliographica* I., 224, 499; III., 474.

FALCONER MADAN.

ANTOINE VÉRARD.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO MR. MACFARLANE'S PAPER.

ADDITIONS.

[DATED BOOKS.]

1486. Ditz des Philosophes.
1488. Legende dorée.
1490. Vies des SS. Peres.
Ordinaire des Chrétiens.
Legende doree.
1495. Ordinaire des Chrétiens.
1496. Legende doree.
1499. Vie du Mauvais Antechrist.
Orloge de Sapience.
1503. Kalendar of Schyppars.

[UNDATED BOOKS.]

Bible des Poetes. [1498 ?]
Colacions des sainz peres. [1504 ?]
Manuel des dames. [ ]
Mistere du V. Testament. [1505 ?]

Mistere de la Résurrection. [1501 ?]
Senecque des mots dores. [1509.]
Signes precedens le grant jugement. [1505 ?]
Suffrages et oraisons des Saints. [1500 ?]

CORRECTIONS.

[DATED BOOKS.]

1488. Histoire de la Destruction de Troye. [*1498.*]
1494. Vengance nostreseigneur iesuchrist. [*1493.*]
1499. Sejour d'honneur. [*Non-existent.*]

[UNDATED BOOKS.]

Bible Hystoriée. [1487 ?] [*1498 ?*]
La Somme rural. [1491 ?] *1491.*

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9.7.13.

J. HOLZER
BINDER